

IN COMMEMORATION

of the

150th ANNIVERSARY

of the

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LEADING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MINISTERIUM.

The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent states, during this year, will celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its organization. The period from 1748 to 1898 embraces the most important and far-reaching events in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country and covers more than one-half of its entire history. The history prior to the organization of the Ministerium is that of the beginnings of scattered settlements of various bodies of Lutherans in widely scattered portions of the country and of efforts, often futile, to secure the ministrations of the Gospel. The year of jubilee brings with it sacred memories of the past, suggests present responsibilities and presents incentives for the future.

In presenting a brief outline of the leading characteristics of the Ministerium, we are called upon to note the prominent features in its origin and subsequent history, the position which the body occupied at various times, and the influence which it exerted in the general development of the Church.

The year 1748 was an epoch-making year in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country. It marks the starting point of a wider outlook, of better organization for the widely scattered members of the Church, and a better, more thorough and more successful oversight of the extensive territory under the pastoral care of the men who had been sent from Halle to labor in Pennsylvania and the neighboring provinces.

The organization itself was preceded by several important conferences, called to consider subjects of vital import-

ance to the future welfare of the Church, and which are to be regarded as evidence of the care with which the fathers moved in this matter. The first of these was a conference held at Providence for the consideration of the subject of a suitable Liturgy for the churches. This was regarded as a matter of great importance for the proper conduct of public worship, the administration of the sacraments and a thorough uniformity in all things pertaining to the cultus of the Church. The second conference was also held at Providence and the three subjects under consideration were the consecration of the new St. Michael's church, the ordination of Catechist Kurtz at the urgent request of the Tulpehocken people, and the organization of a Synod as a closer bond of union among the congregations. The matter of organization was only another step in the logical succession of events. From the very beginning the three congregations that had sent to Germany for a pastor had been designated as "the united congregations;" and later on, as new congregations were added to the number of regularly organized congregations, they continued to retain the same name for all these, together with the numerous preaching stations dependent upon their pastors for occasional services. The next step was to unite all these into a synodical organization, under uniform regulations, so that all might enjoy the benefits of order properly administered, and that all the congregations might have the benefit of judicious oversight.

The Ministerium was organized in St. Michael's Church, Philadelphia, August 26 (N. S.), 1748. The convention was characterized by earnestness and zeal for the welfare of the Church at large and by a laudable fidelity to the Confessions of the Church. There were present, Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh and Kurtz, of Pennsylvania; John Sandin, Provost of the Swedish Churches; and J. C. Hartwig, pastor of congregations in the province of New York; and lay-representatives from nine congregations in Pennsylvania, and Peter Kock, trustee of the Swedish Church in Philadelphia. Although Sandin and Hartwig did not formally unite with the

new Synod, they took an active part in the organization and in the proceedings of the first convention, and in so far represented the congregations under their pastoral and official care. The proceedings of this convention constitute an important chapter of our history, since we find in them the foundation principles of the Church, and the beginning of that which has become one of the strongest factors in its working machinery in this country. The Synod is the source, whence have emanated the most far-reaching movements of church-work in every department of activity, in the doctrine, worship and life of the congregations, and in the educational, missionary and benevolent operations of the same. It is the bond that unites all the congregations into one body, and gives force and proves helpful to the operations of the individual congregations. The helpfulness and influence of the Synod are not appreciated in many quarters as they deserve to be ; and to this lack of appreciation is due, very largely, the failure of the Synod to carry on successfully the varied operations which it undertakes, from time to time.

The name adopted for this new general organization was "The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of North America." In its constitution, cultus and plan of oversight we have the principles of a general organization for the entire Church in this country and for all time. It was œcumenical enough to embrace all the congregations, and yet sufficiently specific to legislate for individual congregations. The very name indicates this œcumenical aim ; and it was retained until the time when narrow-minded men changed it and contracted the sphere of the activity of the organization itself. In its doctrinal position, its cultus and polity, the new Synod planted itself squarely and fairly on the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, and manifested its fidelity to the spirit of the Church of the fathers in various ways. This is seen in the pledge demanded from the first candidate for ordination, who vowed that he would teach nothing, either publicly or privately, "but what is conformable to the Word of God and the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," and "introduce no

ceremonies in the public service and administration of the sacraments but those which have been introduced by the college of pastors of the united congregations, and use no other formula but that which has been indicated to me by the same ;” in the Liturgy prepared by the pastors on the basis of the approved Liturgies of the Church of the Fatherland and adopted at this convention ; as also in the test of membership demanded of pastors and congregations applying for admission, according to which “every minister professes that he holds the Word of God and our Symbolical Books in doctrine and life.”

Although this new body had no formal constitution, we can without difficulty ascertain the main features of the organization from the records of the first convention. It was a body consisting of pastors and lay members of the congregations served by them. The pastors were men who had been officially called and commissioned by the authorities in Halle, and approved by the church authorities of Hanover, as the Lutheran representatives of the King of England, and of other pastors concerning whose unity in the faith and the regularity of whose call there could be no doubt on the part of the authorities in Europe. All these pastors were responsible to the authorities in Europe and transmitted regular reports of their labors to them. The final decision of matters brought before the body belonged to the pastors, subject, of course, to the advice and approval at Halle. The lay members were the church councils or some of the elders as their representatives, who reported congregational matters, participated with the pastors in deliberations concerning churches and schools, were consulted by the pastors concerning the worship and activities of the churches and presented requests to Synod. But this was the extent of their participation, as they had no vote until long afterwards (1792). These practices were fixed in the first constitution and prevailed until the change indicated.

Beginning with the year 1748, the history of our Church in Pennsylvania is the history of the Ministerium, and from

this date until near the close of the century it is the history of the Lutheran Church in America. We must not forget that, as long as Muhlenberg lived, he was the leader in all the most important affairs that tended to advance the cause of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania and the adjoining provinces, and to him pastors and people looked for counsel and for the proper management of their affairs, realizing that in him they had a faithful and trustworthy leader. His life, therefore, is closely interwoven with the men and affairs of the early period of the Synod's history, and to him is due, very largely, the clear and positive confessional position of the Synod at the time of its organization. During this period, also, the influence of the Synod extended over the greater part of the country where Lutherans had settled, being to all intents and purposes a general body, directing the affairs and maintaining order among the widely scattered congregations. Muhlenberg, as the acknowledged leader, was called to New York and to Georgia, not to mention other places, to settle difficulties and regulate affairs. This period embraces, also, the formal adoption of the first synodical constitution, which in its essential features forms the basis of many later constitutions. It embraces the preparation and adoption of a congregational constitution by Muhlenberg, with the advice and coöperation of Wrangel, which has been the model for similar constitutions throughout the country, even down to the present time.

From whatever standpoint the work of the Church is viewed, Muhlenberg was, during his lifetime, the leading and dominant spirit in the Synod and, indeed, in the Church throughout the country. His spirit of devotion to the standards of the Church made itself felt in every department of the Church's teaching, worship and life. But he did not stand alone. He was surrounded by a band, though not large, of faithful colaborers, who patiently and faithfully labored for the advancement of the Church. Among these were Brunnholtz, Kurtz, Bager, Gerock, Krug, Voight, Schultze, Schmidt, Hel-muth and Kunze, besides several of the Swedish pastors, especially Dr. Wrangel.

With the death of Muhlenberg in 1787 another period begins. It is a period of deterioration, tainted with the spirit of the age. The latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth was a period of rationalism and of indifferentism to sound teaching and a churchly life. It lacked the health and vigor of the earlier period, when Muhlenberg and men of like spirit with him were the leaders. "Its coming," says Dr. Jacobs, "may be clearly traced in the preceding years, when the influence of the leader is gradually withdrawn from active labors. His younger contemporaries were men of the same spirit; but the very fact that they were not compelled to struggle so hard to maintain the interests of the Lutheran Church prevented them from rising to such heroic undertakings, and also diminished the rigor with which they guarded the distinctive features of Lutheranism. Lutherans they all were, true to the whole body of the confessions to which they had given their pledge; and yet they were inclined to abate somewhat in reference to the mode in which this faith should be defended. They had been educated under another generation of teachers at Halle, and felt the influence of the weakening, although not yet of the surrender, of these teachers to the fast approaching era of destructive criticism. They had been pupils of Semler in theology, in the first stages of his career. With the deterioration that followed they were well acquainted, and looked with dismay into the future that awaited the Lutheran Church in Germany. Hel-muth, in whom the emotional especially predominated, poured forth his sorrow and apprehension concerning the spread of rationalism in a letter to the elder Muhlenberg, in 1785, which the latter answered in an equally touching letter, declaring that such news must only drive one to prayer, but, at the same time, assuring the younger leader that all such error must, according to God's Word, at last disappear, and that only the truth could be permanent. The darker grew the prospect, the nearer these men felt to all earnest Christians of other denominations, and, while doing so, thought that some of the tests heretofore necessary might be removed. That this was

not done with sufficient discrimination, the result proved. The founders of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had not been extremists, and a departure from their position was, in the beginning, a well-meant but unfortunate compromise. This was prominently manifested in the revised synodical constitution of 1792."

The quality of American rationalism was at no time of a very high order, judging it from the standpoint of intellectual force. It was simply an echo, a reproduction of the elaborations current in the fatherland and an effort to adapt it to the environment of its American imitators. At most, it was merely sporadic in the Church in America and its influence was not very extensive. In the rural districts the more pronounced forms of rationalism were to an extent current and often were repelled by humble people who had been trained under more wholesome influences. That it exerted no influence would be a misstatement of the facts in the case. It had its full share in the development of the false unionism, which at this time asserted itself and attempted to break down all denominational barriers, and make of religion a mere superficial morality. False unionism is the twin sister of indifferentism, and rationalism in one form or another has always been the mother of both. The spirit of rationalism is essentially narrow, vague and superficial. We see this manifested in various ways, in connection with the history of the Synod. The synodical constitution underwent a number of important changes. The same is true of the Liturgy, which had been in use nearly half a century. The most serious change, however, was the elimination of all confessional tests, leaving out all reference either to the Augsburg Confession or to the other symbolical books, so prominent in the first constitution. The result of this was great inconsistencies in teaching and practice, without, however, "any express renunciation of the distinctive doctrines of Lutheranism, which always had outspoken confessors among the more prominent members." The Ministerium still remained a Lutheran body; but in many ways it showed a lack of the true consciousness of the spirit of the Church. Hence,

compromises became possible and unionism with denominations was advocated and practiced. Attempts were even made to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches and the establishment of a college and theological seminary for both communions in common. Another indication of the tendency was the publication, in 1817, of a union hymn-book, which was intended to take the place of the one prepared in 1787 by Muhlenberg, Kunze and Helmuth, and which was intended for the use of both Lutherans and Reformed and recommended by the synods of both churches in Pennsylvania.

There is still another indication of the spirit of the times. "It is that of not a few pastors, orthodox in the general sense of the term, not from deep personal conviction, but from intellectual indolence and motives of expediency. Settled in the midst of large parishes of from six to twelve congregations, ministering to an uneducated rural population, they preached the Word of God, but were occupied with the secular demands of their farms as much as with the spiritual interests of their people. That close personal dealing with individual souls that characterized the ministry of Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz was an impossibility. The pastor scarcely knew, even by name, the thousands of members in his parish, as he passed on Sunday, with all haste, from one church to another. A few volumes of sermons, from which to gather material ready for prompt use in the pulpit, and the local newspaper, were probably the sole reading with which he supplemented the theological course he had received from some pastor thoroughly preoccupied with other duties. . . . There were no educational or missionary enterprises that could enlist their interest. Was it a wonder that, under a ministry thus secularized, the hearing of the Word and the receiving of the sacraments degenerated into purely mechanical services, that church discipline almost completely vanished, and that, amidst the great progress which the last three-quarters of a century has witnessed within these congregations, the relics of this ecclesiastical semi-barbarism have not altogether passed away?" (Jacobs.) Nevertheless, a statement like this dare not be per-

mitted to pass without another statement of the fact that this condition of things in some parts of the synodical territory was not allowed to go on without protest by the Synod itself.

Early in the present century there was an awakening, both in Europe and America, from the spirit of rationalism of the closing years of the previous century. A more positive faith began to manifest itself, and this had its effect in quickening a higher appreciation of the confessions and the faith involved in them. This awakening and consequent renewed activity of the Church in its proper sphere of evangelical teaching and life, may very largely be ascribed to the impulse afforded by the celebration of the ter-centenary of the Reformation, in 1817. It led to renewed study of the Reformation principles and the writings of Luther, and brought out a literature of an entirely different character from that which is the natural fruit of rationalism, indifferentism and false unionism. The Ministerium took a leading part in this forward movement. Not only were the standards of the Church subjected to a careful study; but the desire arose for a more general union among the Lutherans in this country, both for protection against outside influences and for united efforts in the advancement of its own affairs, in the line of education, missions and benevolence. In 1818 the Ministerium resolved, that "in its judgment, it would be well if the different Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States were to stand, in some way or other, in true union with one another." Correspondence was opened with the few other Synods, then in existence, and the result was the organization of the General Synod in 1821. Although, already in 1823, the Ministerium withdrew its connection with this general body, this was due "to the fact that the leaders of that Synod were unable to overcome the opposition of the congregations in the rural districts" to connection with the body, and not to a change of mind with reference to the desirability of a union and of united action for the advancement of the Church. For thirty years the Ministerium maintained an independent position; but during this period it moved steadily forward and onward in quick-

ening the Lutheran consciousness of its people, establishing order in its congregations, and so preparing pastors and congregations to go safely through another period of disturbance by which the General Synod was largely influenced and affected.

From one extreme men are liable to swing to another. So it was in the early decades of the present century. After the period of rationalism had spent its force, the Church to a very large extent was pervaded by fanaticism. In the Lutheran Church of this country many were drawn away from the true spirit of the Church into the current of fanatical movements, called "new measures." This was nothing more than the adoption of emotional and methodistic methods in carrying on church work. It brought along with it a disregard for sound evangelical teaching and catechetical instruction, and resulted in the holding of protracted, so-called, revival meetings, characterized by the wildest excitement and irreligious practices. But in this matter the Ministerium remained firm in its adherence to the evangelical principles and teachings of the Lutheran Church, and strongly opposed the introduction of what were called "new measures." Indeed, this movement had the happy effect of bringing the Ministerium to a clearer confessional position and a re-establishment, on a clearer and more positive basis, of its original confessional position. It had gone through the fires of rationalism and fanaticism, and came out of them purified of much of the dross that had accumulated during the past years of its existence, and marks the beginning of movements the results of which became manifest only in later years.

This return to the confessions, on the part of the Ministerium, had a beneficial effect on other portions of the Church, among those who had been led away from the confessions and drawn into the current of emotional and fanatical religionism. The spirit of improvement began to manifest itself also in the General Synod; and, as the conservative element of this body grew in strength and decision, the prospects of drawing into it a large portion of the independent Synods grew brighter.

In 1853 the Ministerium, which was then the largest and most influential Synod in existence, re-entered the General Synod and threw its influence on the side of the conservative and confessional position.

The confessional position which the Ministerium took, at this time, is set forth very clearly in a series of resolutions adopted by it and placed on record at the time of entering the General Synod. They are here given :

“Whereas, the Evangelical Lutheran Church has, of late, arrived at clearer views of its doctrinal and other distinctive features ; and whereas, we are justified in expecting that both the internal and external welfare of our Church will be thereby essentially promoted ; and whereas, we recognize the importance of an historico-confessional basis for the Church ; therefore,

Resolved, (a) That we also, in common with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, acknowledge the collective body of the symbolical books as the historico-confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and that we, also, like the Evangelical Lutheran Church of former times, accord to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism an especial importance among our symbolical books generally. (b) That we enjoin it upon all the ministers and candidates of our Church, as their duty, to make themselves better and more thoroughly acquainted with these venerable documents of the faith of our fathers than has hitherto been the case with many. (c) That it is not by any means our intention thereby to diminish the absolute authority of the Holy Scriptures, but much rather to place them in the clearest light possible, and that we by no means design through these symbols to place constraint upon the consciences of any, but much rather through them to bind the conscience to the Holy Scriptures, as the divine source of truth.”

But the struggle for a positive, confessional Lutheranism was by no means ended by this clear declaration of principles. It continued for a number of years and resulted in the division in 1866, when the Ministerium and a number of other Synods withdrew from the General Synod. The next step in the line of development and advancement was the organization of the General Council, in 1866 and 1867, on a clear and positive confessional basis. Here, again, the Ministerium took a leading position, both in the organization, the adoption of its principles of faith and polity and in the prosecution of the work coming under the control of the new body. For thirty years this Synod has been one of the leading factors of this general body, organized for the purpose of uniting the conservative

elements of the Lutheran Church in this country into one body, for the propagation of truth and the advancement of the Church.

The Ministerium has for many years been active in the work of missions, both at home and abroad, though it has never come up to the full measure of its ability in this direction. In 1837 a society was organized for the purpose of carrying on more effective work beyond its immediate bounds. It was the prime mover in establishing a mission in India, in 1841, and sent out Father Heyer to begin the work. In 1868, when the General Synod no longer felt able to support the Rajahmundry District, the Ministerium again took hold of the work and supported the missionaries until the following year, when the entire work was transferred to the General Council. Meanwhile, however, the Ministerium has continued one of the strongest supporters of the General Council's flourishing mission in India. For more than half a century the mission in India has received the care and support of this Synod, and its missionaries are members of the body.

In the matter of education, in later years, the Ministerium has manifested great interest. The great lack from the beginning was that of suitable educational facilities for the training of men for the ministry in institutions of the Church and in its spirit. Muhlenberg and his faithful colaborers earnestly longed and labored for institutions for the higher Christian education of the people. Efforts were made in this direction, during the lifetime of Muhlenberg; but they proved failures, since the Church was then not yet in a position to undertake and carry on work of this kind. Reference has already been made to the effort, on the part of the Ministerium, to secure educational advantages for its people in connection with Franklin College and Seminary. Providentially and happily for the future welfare of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, this proved an utter failure. When the institutions were established at Gettysburg, the Ministerium again aided in their establishment and looked to them for the training of its young men; but for various reasons

this also proved a disappointment. It was found that in order to train up a homogeneous ministry for the Church and afford educational advantages to all its people in the spirit of the Church, institutions were needed on the territory of the Synod and under direct synodical control. The desired results could not be attained in any other way. Hence, the necessity was forced upon the Synod to make a new beginning in this department of church work.

The Theological Seminary at Philadelphia was founded in 1864. It was established and has been fostered by the Ministerium, almost without any outside aid. From small and insignificant beginnings it has grown to be one of the strongest and most influential institutions of its kind in the Lutheran Church of this country. From the beginning to the present, it has always had an exceptionally able faculty. From the two Schaeffers, Krauth, Mann (under whom it was the writer's privilege to study) to the present faculty, the seminary has had a succession of instructors of whom any institution can well be proud. The results attained have by no means been insignificant. Every synod of the General Council, and other synods, have been benefited by this institution. The conservatism and the spirit of fidelity to the confessions of the Church that have been impressed upon the minds of those who have here received their theological training, cannot help but be of incalculable benefit to the Church at large.

Three years after the establishment of the Seminary, Muhlenberg College, at Allentown, was founded under partial control of the Ministerium. Ten years later, it came under the full control of the synod and has since been maintained by the same. Space forbids more than a mere passing notice of its aims and work. For a more complete history of the college, the reader is referred to the "Quarter-Centennial Memorial Volume," published in 1892. Deeply interested, as I am in this department of church work and in the college itself, I can not permit this occasion to pass without a reference to the aim which was before those who labored for this institution of the synod. This was the establishment of a synodical

college of a high literary and religious standard, in which young men could be trained in the spirit of the Lutheran Church for the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, for the various learned professions and for other pursuits in life, and thus give the Church an educated ministry as well as an educated laity.

The establishment of these institutions meant an important step forward in the operations of the Ministerium, and was the actualization of the cherished plans of its pious, earnest, faithful and eminent founders. A son of both institutions, I am proud to bear testimony to the self-denying, earnest and faithful labors of the able scholars of the Church who have given their lives for the work of educating the young in our Church institutions, and am free to say that both these institutions of our synod deserve all the financial and moral help that the members of our congregations are able to give, a great deal more than has been done in the past. The best is not too good for them.

In the matter of benevolence, the Ministerium has not always come up to the full measure of its ability. There have been palliating circumstances in various periods of its history. In the earlier years, these were the poverty, the trials and struggles of the members of the congregations to gain a foothold in this new country. The scarcity of ministers led to the formation of large parishes, which are still maintained in some portions of our synodical territory, a state of affairs that is not conducive to the cultivation of the spirit of benevolence. These large parishes are happily becoming things of the past; and with their disappearance and the establishment of smaller parishes, with more frequent services, and the more regular ministrations of the Gospel, improvements are being made all along the line. And yet, the Ministerium has not been altogether remiss in the benevolent operations of the Church. Its interest in missions at home and abroad, its participation in the establishment of various educational institutions and the maintenance of its own orphanage for nearly forty years, all

go to show that the work of benevolence has not been altogether neglected.

From a small body, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania has grown to be one of the largest and most influential bodies of the Lutheran Church in America. It has been a prominent and powerful factor in the development of the Church on this continent. Beginning with Muhlenberg, it has been blessed with an uninterrupted succession of earnest, faithful, conscientious and pious leaders, whose leadership has enabled the Synod to take a prominent and leading position in the Church's onward movement. One special feature of this year's celebration ought to be devout gratitude to God for the blessings bestowed upon the labors of those men to whom was given the leadership in the affairs of the Church. After an existence of 150 years and after a dozen or more synods have gone out of it, the Ministerium numbers 324 ministers, 500 congregations and 123,470 confirmed members. Last year's congregational contributions amounted to the sum of \$683,021.97.

S. E. OCHSENFORD.

THE MOTHER SYNOD.

Among the sixty Lutheran Synods in North America, one is known by several names. Its full legal title is "*The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States*"; but it is also frequently called the "Synod of Pennsylvania,"* the "old Synod," and the "Mother Synod."

It will be the writer's aim to point out, as far as it can be done in the space given, how well the Synod deserves the last name.

Although Prof. A. L. Graebner, of the Missouri Synod, in his very able and valuable History of the Lutheran Church in this country, maintains that Rev. Berkenmeyer and his colleagues founded the first Lutheran Synod in this country in 1735, Dr. Jacobs, in his History, says: "When it is said that Berkenmeyer in 1735 presided over the first Lutheran Synod in America, this must be understood with some qualifications. No Synod existed such as we understand by the name. The Synods, as we have them, are confederacies of congregations united permanently under a constitution, prescribing regular meetings, and a system of oversight and administration under officers. The Synod over which Berkenmeyer presided was a conference of the pastors and representatives of the congregations and their descendants that had been served by Falckner and Kocherthal, which was held once, and that for the purpose of adjusting serious difficulties in the New Jersey field." "If there had been another meeting of this kind in Berkenmeyer's time, it would have been the second Synod in America."

*Although that state has other Lutheran Synods.

The meeting called, and the organization effected, in August, 1748, in the city of Philadelphia, Pa.,* and presided over by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, deservedly continues, therefore, to be regarded as the Mother Synod. Dr. Mann, in his "Life and Times of H. M. Muhlenberg," says: "Monday, August 15, the pastors and delegates met in the church to transact synodical business. After singing and prayer, Muhlenberg, who seems to have been recognized as the presiding officer without any formal election, addressed the assembly concerning the union long desired, now accomplished. He referred to an attempt to form a synod in the Swedish Church which had failed. What they needed, he said, was "unity; a twisted cord of many threads will not easily break. We need order; we must take care of our youths; our church officers have great responsibilities. We are assembled to provide for the things entrusted to us; Providence willing, we shall in this way assemble from year to year. For the present we are making a trial. We pastors here did not come of our own will, but we are called here, and we are accountable to God and our consciences."

The representatives of the congregations were then called upon to make statements. The second topic was the condition of the parochial schools. The third point was the liturgy. "Herewith the liturgy, already in use, was ratified by Synod." It was not printed; the pastors copied it each for himself. It was finally resolved to meet yearly, and alternately at Philadelphia and Lancaster, the time to be appointed by the pastors. Every congregation was enjoined to send, at its own expense, two elders. At last, expressions of good will were mutually exchanged. . . . The convention was formally closed with singing a verse of a hymn, and pastors and delegates of the Pennsylvania German Lutheran congregations signed the minutes.

This beginning of synodical life we now celebrate, at the end of one hundred and fifty years. Although Dr. Jacobs,

*When St. Michael's Church was consecrated, and the assembled ministers ordained J. N. Kurtz.

in his "History," describes a subsequent movement, in 1760, and says: "The movement in 1760 is in all respects more comprehensive and better adapted to the American surroundings than that of 1748. The former may be regarded as the permanent and the latter only as the temporary foundation of the present Ministerium of Pennsylvania." It is evident from Dr. Mann's annotated edition of the Halle Reports, that the Synod met regularly, from 1748 to 1754. There were no meetings in 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, and 1759. Even if the foundation laid in 1748 was only the "temporary" one, and "the synodical constitution gradually grew," the foundation of 1748 was substantially the one on which the building rested.

Speaking of the synodical constitution, Dr. Jacobs says: "The date of it first being committed to writing and formally adopted is not at hand. It was transcribed into the minute-book begun in 1781, after having been in force years before. The features of this first Lutheran synodical constitution in America are most important, as it forms the basis of so many later synodical organizations. The name is "The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in North America."*

"The confessional obligation is: Every minister professes that he holds the Word of God and our symbolical books in doctrine and life. In complaints brought against ministers, the subject of investigation must refer to: 1. Positive errors opposed to the plain teachings of the Holy Scriptures and our symbolical books." As far as the doctrine was concerned, the permanent and the temporary foundations were unquestionably the same.

Quoting the "History" we read: "At the second meeting the first item of business was Pastor Muhlenberg's proposition concerning the necessity of the annual election of an overseer of all the united congregations. Not only was this office not recognized by the authorities in Halle, who in all

*This was afterward changed to "The German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States." In 1882 "German" was erased, thus going back to the Muhlenberg Constitution.

their correspondence say not a word concerning it, since it seemed to be an infringement upon the European superintendency of the Pennsylvania churches, but from the very full account of the discussions at the meeting of the Synod in 1760, the Halle editors of the 'Reports' have omitted the section referring to this office, where it is stated that by a unanimous vote the Synod affirmed the necessity of such an office."

Although the Mother Synod was begun in 1748, it remained the only synod of the Lutheran Church up to the organization of the *Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of New York*, in 1786, or, as Dr. Nicum has recently shown, in 1773. Dr. Jacobs tells us: "When the tercentenary of the Reformation was celebrated in 1817, the Lutheran Church in America had but three synods, Pennsylvania, New York and North Carolina. Some of the district (then called "special") conferences of the Mother Synod, were, however, assuming synodical proportions, and gradually growing into synodical organizations. They printed and distributed their own minutes, with their own parochial reports, and their own actions concerning the affairs of the congregations in their bounds.

"The Lancaster Conference presented to the Synod in 1804 a plan for traveling missionaries, which was adopted. It had in view the two-fold object of providing pastors for vacant parishes and of gathering the scattered and uncared-for people into congregations. Within a few years much was accomplished. The names of J. G. Butler, John Stauch (Stough), and Paul Henkel are eminent among these devoted missionaries of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. They covered a great extent of territory, westward far into Ohio, laying the foundations for the numerous Ohio Synods of today, southwestward into the Holston region of Tennessee, and southward through Virginia into North Carolina. Nine years later we find the name of the pioneer Lutheran missionary in India from America, 'Father' Heyer, on the list of these traveling missionaries, and within three years his field extended into the states of Indiana and Kentucky."

Similar missionary operations were carried on by the Mother Synod in subsequent years, and when the General Synod's Board, in 1857, sent Father Heyer, after his return from India, to Minnesota, the Mother Synod assisted in the work. She deserves that name not only because she was the first of synods, but also because she has been a fostering mother, and has sent her sons into many sections, to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments.

It is almost superfluous to remind the reader that it was the Ministerium of Pennsylvania that resolved, in 1818, that "in its judgment, it would be well if the different Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States were to stand, in some way or other, in true union with one another," and to direct its officers to correspond with the other two synods, New York and North Carolina, on the subject. It was at its meeting, at Baltimore, 1819, that the Plan-Entwurf ("A Proposed Plan") was adopted. Four synods were represented at the convention at Hagerstown, 1820, when the constitution of the new General Synod was adopted, and of the eleven clerical and four lay delegates present, eight were from Pennsylvania and seven from other synods. "At the next meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod, in face of a protest from one of the pastoral charges, the constitution of the General Synod was adopted, after a long discussion, by the overwhelming majority of sixty-seven to six." (Jacobs.)

For reasons frequently published, the Mother Synod deemed it necessary to withdraw from the General Body in 1823, and to keep aloof from it until 1853. At the meeting at Reading, in the latter year, when she resolved to resume connection with the General Synod, she earnestly called upon other synods not connected with that body to enter with her.

In the Providence of God she felt herself called, in 1866, to issue an address, inviting "all Evangelical Synods, ministers and congregations in the United States and Canadas, which confess the unaltered Augsburg Confession," "to unite with us in a convention, for the purpose of forming a union of Lutheran Synods."

This led to the celebrated Reading convention, December, 1866, and the organization of the General Council, at Fort Wayne, 1867. From that day to the present she has been a most active and influential member of this body. It will be the work of another hand to describe how much she had to do in preparing the Church Book and the German Kirchenbuch, published by that body.

The writer of this paper has endeavored to show, in the LUTHERAN CHURCH REVIEW, how much the Synod interested itself in the educational work of the Church, especially the preparation of young men for the ministry, and how a variety of circumstances prevented her from establishing, for many years, such institutions as she at last secured in the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, and Muhlenberg College, at Allentown. For many years prior to the establishment of either seminary or college, the prominent pastors of the Mother Synod were the principal instructors of the candidates for the ministry of our Church in this country; so that, in this respect also, she proved herself a mother.

Halle, where Muhlenberg was educated, and whence he was sent forth to do missionary work among the German Lutherans of Pennsylvania, was a training school for missionaries, and prepared the pioneer missionaries of India, Ziegenbalg, Plutscho, and Schwartz. We know that Halle sent other laborers into the American field, and it was to be expected that the missionary zeal that animated the pioneers of our Church in this country, would survive, to some extent at least, among their successors. We have already seen that such was the case, and that the Mother Synod sent forth home missionaries.

But the time was to come when our Church in this country was to take an active part in the propagation of the Gospel in heathen lands, and the Mother Synod did not fail to take the place that properly belonged to her.

We gather our facts from Dr. Jacobs' History. The Rev. Charles Frederick Heyer was born in Germany, 1793, came to America in 1807, studied theology under his pas-

tors, Drs. Helmuth and F. D. Schaeffer, in Philadelphia, and at Göttingen was licensed as a candidate, in 1817, by the Mother Synod, and at once began his labors as a home missionary. In 1837 he reported that he had traveled thousands of miles, and found places for at least fifty missionaries. In the same year there was organized a "Foreign Missionary Society of the Evangelical German Churches in the United States. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was represented by delegates, among whom was Rev. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer. Coöperation with the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions was declared in the constitution to be one of its objects. The mission of Rev. Dr. Rhenius at Palamcottah, India, received whatever contributions were gathered during the first years."

In 1841 Rev. C. F. Heyer was appointed by the Mission Society of the General Synod missionary to India; but when the arrangement was made that he should go under the general supervision of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he declined, and offered his services to the Missionary Society of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in a letter beginning:

"BALTIMORE, June 3, 1841.

"*Dear Brother*—I should prefer going into the heathen world under the direction of an Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society, rather than be dependent upon other Christian denominations; therefore, I take the liberty of addressing myself to your missionary society. Should the brethren be disposed to send me as a missionary among the heathens, then the following conditions are to be borne in mind."

Although the committee to which this letter was referred reported regretfully, "we have not sufficient means at hand to form and maintain a heathen mission," "Dr. C. R. Demme was equal to the occasion, and, seconded by Rev. Dr. J. C. Baker (under whose preaching, thirty years before, Heyer had decided to enter the ministry), he silenced all opposition, and raised the Synod to a higher standard by moving the

resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, that began Lutheran Foreign Missions in India."

"These resolutions of June 7, 1841, were:

"*Resolved*, That in reliance on Divine Providence, we commence a heathen mission.

"*Resolved*, That we receive Brother Heyer as missionary in our service; however, his offer to invest one thousand dollars of his own property, the interest of which to aid in the support of the mission so long as he is connected with it, be not accepted.

"*Resolved*, That the executive committee be solicited immediately to enter into correspondence with Brother Heyer, in order to carry the above resolutions into effect.

"*Resolved*, That we recommend to the executive committee, Hindostan as a missionary field, for their consideration.

"*Resolved*, That the treasurer, the Rev. Dr. Baker, be requested to address a circular to the different missionary societies of our church, informing them of the above resolutions, and invite them to coöperate with us."

"Sunday, October 3, 1841, was a notable day in the history of the Lutheran Church, when fourteen or fifteen pastors of the Ministeriums of Pennsylvania and New York, and the Synods of Ohio, Maryland and Virginia, with a large audience, gathered in St. Paul's (German) Church, Philadelphia, and, after listening to a sermon from the new missionary, on Jonah 2: 3: 'Arise, go unto Nineveh,' etc., heard the charge addressed him by Rev. Dr. Baker. He sailed from Boston, October 14, in company with some missionaries of the American Board."

Beyond the fact that the Telugus in India offered a desirable field of labor, and the instructions that he should see if such reports which came from the American Board were correct, he had little to guide him. He had expected to be determined largely by the instructions of Rhenius, of whose death he did not hear until he reached India. In September, 1842, he reported that he had located at Guntur, a city two hundred and thirty miles north of Madras and thirty-five miles from the western coast.

In July, 1844, Rev. Walter Gunn and wife, sent by the Missionary Society of the General Synod, were welcomed by Father Heyer as reinforcements in the work he had begun. Before the close of 1844, seventeen converts had been bap-

tized as the first fruits of the mission. An arrangement was made, during a visit of the pioneer missionary to America, in 1846, whereby the General Synod assumed the entire care of the mission, while the Ministerium of Pennsylvania provided for the support of Dr. Heyer. In assuming this work the executive committee of the General Synod's society pay a most graceful tribute to those who had made the beginning:

"We feel constrained to pay a passing tribute to the Missionary Society of the Pennsylvania Synod for their devoted zeal and activity in the missionary work. To that society we owe the successful establishment of the mission in Guntur. To them belongs the proud distinction of having sent the first Lutheran missionary from the United States. And right and proper was it that the oldest Lutheran Synod in this country, the mother of us all, should take the lead in this noble enterprise. It was in strict unison with the spirit which characterized the founders of that venerable body in leaving their fatherland to establish a branch of our Lutheran Zion in the then wilderness of America. It was providential, whether we consider the man sent, those who sent him, the time, or the section of the country in which he commenced his labors."

On his return to India in 1849, Dr. Heyer founded another mission center in the Telugu country, in the Palnaud. In 1850 the neighboring Rajahmundry field, with its two missionaries, Groenning and Heise, was transferred to the care of the American Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society by the North German Society, upon the condition that it was forever to remain a Lutheran mission. In 1857 Dr. Heyer wrote: "The sun of my life is waning, and the shades of evening are rapidly approaching," and left India, as he supposed, forever, little anticipating that twelve years later he would return to reorganize a portion of the field that sorely needed his attention.

Following the same historian, we read: "Dr. Heyer was spending some time in Germany, where he incidentally learned that a portion of the mission field in India was about being

transferred by the committee of the General Synod to the Church missionary society. It was the Rajahmundry and Samulcotta territory, which had been given, in 1850, to the General Synod, under certain conditions, by the North German Missionary Society, and where Valett, Heise, and Groening had faithfully labored. The same issue was repeated which faced Rhenius when his heroic stand against the requirements of the Church of England had awakened Heyer's interest before his first trip to India. He lost no time, but immediately took passage for America. He reached this country just in time for the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in Trinity Church, Reading, in June, 1869, where the appearance of the veteran missionary, short in stature, with white locks reaching almost to his shoulders, and with his agile movements and rapid speech, at once aroused attention and enkindled enthusiasm. He had brought with him Mr. H. C. Schmidt, a candidate for ordination and the foreign mission field, ready to go forth just as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. He urged that the Ministerium which had sent him out to begin American Lutheran foreign missions in 1842, intervene to arrest the transfer, and, if it were not too late, again assume the responsibility of their support. He would plead with the General Synod's board and with the Church missionary society, and, although nearly seventy-seven years old, would himself go to India and reorganize the work. The question was asked how soon he would be prepared to start on the journey of twelve thousand miles. Raising his valise from the floor by his side, he said, 'I am ready to go now.' His wish was accomplished. Everywhere he swept opposition before him. The mission had been transferred seven months before he reached India, but the Church missionary society could not deny the claims which he urged, and cheerfully relinquished the rights they had acquired. He left New York, August 31, 1869, and reached Guntur, November 24th, having spent a week on his way in the Palnaud. The astonishment and delight of the older native

Christians at the return of the pioneer missionary repaid him for the fatigue and trials of the way."

Our space forbids further particulars of his labors there, and of his return. In 1872 he became resident chaplain of the Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, and died there, November 14, 1873, aged eighty years and nine months.

We have thus given an outline of some of the work in which the venerable Ministerium of Pennsylvania has been engaged during the past one hundred and fifty years, and the record shows that the Mother Synod has no reason to be ashamed of her history.

G. F. KROTEL.

East Orange, October, N. J., 1897.

HISTORY OF THE LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MINISTERIUM OF PENNSYLVANIA.

I. THE FIRST AGENDA OF 1748.

The history of the liturgical movement in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania is as old as the Mother Synod itself. Even before the first Convention of the Ministerium, in 1748, a form of service had been prepared by Muehlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh. When Schaum was sent to the Raritan Congregations, in the spring of 1747, he was directed to conduct the services in exact accordance with the order which was handed to him in manuscript. One of the most important transactions of the first Synodical meeting in Philadelphia, August 15-26, 1748, was with reference to this form of service, which was to be adopted and strictly adhered to by all the pastors and congregations. All the Elders who were present as delegates of their congregations, testified in behalf of their people that they were well satisfied to use one and the same form of service (einerlei Ceremonien) with the United Pastors. No objection was made to the Agenda, only the fear was expressed that on cold winter days the service might be found too long. But it was left to the Ministerium to make suitable abbreviations (Halle Reports, New Edition, by Drs. Mann and Schmucker, p. 210). At this same convention of the Ministerium, John Nicolas Kurtz was examined, and ordained as pastor of the Tulpehocken charge, and in the "Revers" which he signed on August 13, 1748, he solemnly promises to conform his public and private teaching to the Word of God and the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and "to introduce no other ceremonies in the services of public worship and

the administration of the sacraments, except those which have been introduced by the Collegio Pastorum of the United Congregations, and to use no other Formulary than that prescribed for me by them" (Halle Reports, p. 135). And the Tulpehocken Congregation, to which Kurtz was appointed, solemnly promises on its reception "to do, order, decide, or alter nothing in important affairs of the Church, without previously obtaining the counsel and consent of the Rev. Collegiate Pastors" (Halle Rep., p. 140).

During the first thirty-eight years of the history of the Ministerium, this Agenda and Liturgy existed only in manuscript. Dr. Schmucker thinks that probably not more than forty copies were ever made. Two of these have been preserved through the care of the late Dr. J. W. Richards, one made by Jacob Van Buskirk, in 1763, the other made by Peter Muehlenberg, in 1769. The most important sections are printed in the new edition of the Halle Reports, p. 211 to 216,* following chiefly the copy of Van Buskirk, and supplementing it, wherever necessary, with the text as found in Peter Muehlenberg's copy. This "Liturgy oder Kirchenbuch," as it is called in Muehlenberg's copy, consists of five chapters: 1. How public service is to be conducted in our congregations. 2. Of Baptism. 3. Of Proclamation and Marriage. 4. Of the Confession and the Lord's Supper. 5. Of Burial.

The Order of Service, as given in this Agenda, is as follows: Hymn of Invocation of the Holy Spirit, Confession of Sins, Gloria in Excelsis in metrical form, Collect with Salutation and Response, Epistle, Hymn (Hauptlied), Gospel, Creed (in Luther's metrical version), Hymn, Sermon, General Prayer, Proclamations and Announcements, Votum, Hymn, Collection of Alms, Closing Collect with Salutation and Response, Benediction, Closing Verse. The Order of the Lord's Supper is as follows: Preface with Salutation, Sursum Corda and Sanctus, Exhortation, Consecration, Invitation, Distribution, Benedic-

*An English Translation, by the late Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, is found in Dr. H. E. Jacobs' *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, p. 269 ff.

mus, Thanksgiving Collect, Benediction and Closing Collect. Of the character and value of this first Liturgy of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the late Dr. B. M. Schmucker justly says, that "it is beyond comparison the noblest and purest Lutheran Service which the Church in America prepared or possessed until the publication of the Church Book." With only a very few exceptions, such as the omission of the special Introit and the combination of the Confession with the Kyrie, this form is in perfect harmony with the best and purest Agenda of our Lutheran Church in the sixteenth century. The careful investigation made by Dr. Schmucker concerning the origin and history of this Liturgy, has established the fact that it follows closely those Saxon and North German Orders with which Muehlenberg had become familiar in Germany, namely, the Lueneburg Order of 1643, used in his native town, in Eimbeck; the Calenberg Order of 1569, used at Goettingen, where he studied theology; the Brandenburg-Magdeburg Order of 1739, used in Halle, when he was a resident of that city; and the Saxon Order of 1712, which he used during his pastorate in Gross-Hennersdorf.

Of special interest to us is the great value which Muehlenberg and his co-laborers laid on uniformity in the service of the Lutheran Church in this country. We have seen what a prominent part the Agenda had in the transactions of the first meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. And when our Patriarch, Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, was nearing the end of his life, he left to the Lutheran Church of this country as his last will and bequest in this matter, the statement: "It would be a most desirable and advantageous thing if all the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in the North American States were united with one another, if they all used the same order of service, the same hymn book, and in good and evil days would show an active sympathy and fraternally correspond with one another." (Letter to Dr. Godfr. Enox, of Loonenburg, November 5, 1783.)

II. AGENDA AND HYMN BOOK OF 1786.

At the meeting of the Ministerium in 1782 it was resolved to publish the first printed edition of the Agenda. No changes were to be made in the text, but the form of Confirmation was to be added, as found in the Wuerttemberg Agenda of that time. Steps were also taken at the same convention to publish a new hymn book for the United Congregations, in place of the Marburg Hymn Book which was still in general use, and which had been printed for the first time in America by Christoph Sauer, in 1762. Muehlenberg sen., Kunze, Helmuth, and Muehlenberg jun. were appointed a committee for this work, with the following instructions: 1. To follow, as nearly as possible, the arrangement of the Halle Hymn Book (Freylinghausen). 2. Not to omit any of the old standard hymns, particularly those of Luther and P. Gerhardt. 3. To omit the Gospels and Epistles for Apostles' Days and minor festivals, the history of the destruction of Jerusalem, together with the prayers and the Catechism. 4. The whole work, with any changes that might be proposed, to be submitted to a special meeting of the Ministerium. 5. The book was to contain not more than seven hundred and fifty hymns. Rev. Helmuth was instructed to prepare a collection of prayers for this hymn book, and Dr. Muehlenberg sen. was to write the preface. Another resolution forbids any changes to be made in the Catechism without the approbation of the Synod. Three years afterwards, at the meeting of 1785, Rev. Helmuth was instructed to make some changes and abbreviations in the hymns, and a Committee consisting of Revs. Helmuth, Schmidt and Muehlenberg jun. was appointed to make some changes, also, in the new printed edition of the Agenda.

The result of these different instructions is before us in the Agenda and Hymn Book of 1786. It is evident that a period of transition has set in between the years 1782 and 1786. On the one side we recognize an endeavor to adhere faithfully to the usage and order as it was handed down by the Fathers and the founders of the Ministerium. On the

other hand there are undeniable evidences of deterioration, not only in matters of good liturgical taste, but even in points of doctrine. The same emotional subjectivism, which in the Fatherland led first to pietism and next to rationalism, begins to show itself both in the Agenda and in the Hymn Book, though, for the present, the desire still preponderates to hold fast the good inheritance of the Fathers.

The following are some of the most characteristic points in which the Agenda of 1786 differs from that of 1748. The specific directions to the Pastor to turn his face to the Altar or to the people, are all omitted. Likewise the Gloria in Excelsis, the Collect for the day, the reading of the Gospel at the Altar, and the Creed. Instead of the Collect for the day an *ex tempore* prayer is prescribed "or a morning-prayer from our hymn book," that is, one of those prayers which Dr. Helmuth had prepared for the appendix of the hymn book. The reading of the Gospel in the pulpit is left optional, "the pastor according to his own preference may read the Gospel or his text on which he is going to preach." In the place of the General Prayer another and much more lengthy form is substituted, which covers not less than seven out of the fifty-eight pages of the whole Agenda. A special feature of this edition is also the extensive provision made in rubrical directions and forms for the instruction of Catechumens and the Rite of Confirmation (*Unterricht und sogenannte Confirmation der Jugend*). Not less than eight pages are devoted to this subject under the three heads: 1, Instruction; 2, Public Examination; 3, Confirmation itself (*Einsegnung*). Everywhere we discover the influence of the later Pietism in the undue magnifying of the peculiar solemnity of this particular rite, and the effort to make it as emotional as possible. The rubrical directions themselves make it the duty of the Pastor to work upon the feelings of his hearers, to use "the most touching expressions" and the like. Dr. B. M. Schmucker justly condemns the alterations made in the Morning Service of this Agenda in the strongest terms; every one of them, he says, is an injury to the pure Lutheran type of the old service.

The chaste liturgical taste of the Fathers has become vitiated; the accord with the Church of the Reformation is dying out gradually. The Service of the Church is sinking slowly towards the immeasurable depths into which it afterwards fell.

A few words may be said at this point concerning the character of the Hymn book which accompanied the Agenda of 1786. Dr. H. M. Muehlenberg himself took quite an active part in the compilation of the hymns. In January, 1783, he had, according to his diary, selected 534 hymns. "Hymns on the last judgment, intimating its speedy advent and introducing unsuitable signs of its approach, I omitted; also those which, following the language of Solomon's song, use terms having a taint of the sensual; also those which speak of Jesus in a playful manner, in diminutive terms, etc., because such language, though intended as childlike and familiar, appears to me childish and not according to Scripture language. Hymns, however, of the oldest and of subsequent times, which are known to all Lutherans from childhood, are not omitted, though, while they are orthodox, their style and rhythm may appear somewhat harsh." "We cannot wonder," says Dr. Mann (*Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muehlenberg*), "that the hymns of the earlier period of Pietism also found favor with him. But the sympathy with the song of the preceding period had not outlived itself. Muehlenberg was too conservative a Churchman to deprive Lutherans of hymns to which tradition and habit had attached them, and which strenuously echoed the Lutheran faith. In this respect this hymn book, the largest part of which Muehlenberg compiled, is much superior to the one edited under Synodical authority in 1849, but does not attain to the merits of the *Kirchenbuch*, edited by the General Council of the Lutheran Church in America and representing the highest standard of liturgical and hymnological theory."

But in spite of Dr. Muehlenberg's conservative influence the number of later subjective hymns of the Pietistic School is entirely too large in this book, whilst many of the finest and, at the same time, most popular hymns of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries are omitted. Of its 718 hymns only 230 are to be found in the Church Book of the General Council. Unnecessary changes were made by Dr. Helmuth in the text even of some of the standard hymns of P. Gerhardt, Johann Heermann, and others. The changes show not only a poor literary and poetical taste, but also an aversion to the strong statements concerning the union of the Divine and Human in the person of Christ, which are so characteristic of the most substantial hymns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (See No. 104, 2, where the original "der wahre Gott" is changed; likewise No. 108, 2, the original "Gott selbst liegt todt" changed into "Mein Herr ist todt.") The omission of the Catechism, the Gospels, Epistles and Collects, which had been in the old Marburg Book, from the Pennsylvania Hymn Book of 1786, evidently did not prove satisfactory to the Congregations. This appears from the fact that in 1790 already an appendix was printed (*Anhang zu dem Gesangbuch der Vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord America, Germantown, Michael Billmeyer*), containing those very parts which had been excluded from the Hymn Book of 1786.

3. AGENDA OF 1818.

A very decided downward step in the liturgical history of the Ministerium is marked by the Liturgy of 1818. (*Liturgie oder Kirchen-Agende der Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvania und den benachbarten Staaten. Schaefer und Maund, Baltimore, 1818.*) There is hardly a trace left in this Liturgy of a responsive service. It opens with a confession of sin, in the pure style of the sixteenth century, but without absolution. In its place may be substituted a prayer ending with a Kyrie. This is followed by the Salutation, the reading of the Gospel, Epistle, or any other suitable selection from the Scriptures, Hymn, Sermon, General Prayer and Votum, Closing Verse and Benediction. A second form of the Morning Service opens with a selection of Sentences, among them the Versicles of the Matin and

Vesper, and part of the Venite Exultemus. Then follows a hymn, after which the pastor is directed to read at the Altar a modern version of the Te Deum. This is followed by a Hymn, Prayer in the pulpit, Sermon, Prayer, Hymn, Benediction. For Infant Baptism not less than three different forms are offered. The first of these is in the main unobjectionable, and is found in the Pennsylvania Agenda to the present day. But the first question to the Sponsors, "Do you renounce the Devil and all his works and all his ways?" is supplemented by the significant addition, "that is, the dominion of sin and vanity." The second and third formulas are altogether modern and in the very worst taste. The renunciation of Satan and the confession of faith in the Triune God are entirely omitted. In their place we have a simple declaration on the part of the Sponsors of their willingness that the child should be baptized and received into the number of Christians; and a promise that they would give their counsel and assistance that it should be instructed in the doctrines of Christianity and trained up in everything that is right and good ("zu allem Guten erzogen werden"). There are also three different forms given for the administration of the Lord's Supper. Every one of them is a complete deviation from the ancient chaste forms of the sixteenth century. In the distribution of the elements that most un-Lutheran form is used, "Jesus says, take, eat," etc. Instead of this the following passages are also recommended to be said in the distribution: John 6: 51, 54, 55; I Cor. 10: 16; 11: 26; Rev. 19: 9. In the Ordination Service there is no reference whatever to the Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the candidates being consecrated with the following words: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, invoking His Spirit, to the honor of the Father, we ordain, consecrate and appoint you to the ministry of reconciliation, for the preaching of the Kingdom of God, to be stewards of His mysteries."

A fitting companion to this Agenda of 1818 was the hymn book published in 1817 by F. G. Schaeffer, in Baltimore, with the title "Das Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch,

zum gottsdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord-Amerika. Auf Verlangen der meisten Prediger beider Benennungen gesammelt und von den Committeeen zweier Ministerien geprueft und genehmigt." The preface of the first edition openly announced it as the aim of this book "to break down the partition wall between Lutherans and Reformed, which is only based on prejudices; to cultivate the true spirit of the Christian religion, the spirit of tolerance and fraternal love; and to unite more closely Christians and Christians." This book was formally recommended as a decided improvement on the old Pennsylvania hymn book by the Synods of Pennsylvania, New York and North Carolina; and the second edition parades these recommendations, which were of course highly gratifying to the publishers. "We are delighted to be able to say that these hymns are admirably selected," says the report of the Pennsylvania committee, signed by F. W. Geissenhainer, J. Georg Schmucker, Christian Endress, Johann Knoske and Johann P. Hecht. The Secretary of the New York Ministerium, August Wackerhagen, records the resolution "That Mr. F. G. Schaeffer be encouraged to publish this book, and that the Ministerium will exert itself to introduce it in those congregations that conduct their service in the German language." Dr. Daniel Kurtz, of Baltimore, and Dr. F. D. Schaeffer, of Philadelphia, give it their unqualified recommendation. Dr. Becker records his gratitude to the publishers for this "admirable work which recommends itself," especially in view of the fact that "the present hymn books are utterly unfit for use in the Union Churches of our Country." The Rev. Gottlieb Schober, Secretary of the North Carolina Synod, furnishes the action of his Synod, recommending this work "inasmuch as it tends to establish the beautiful accord between the Lutheran and Reformed hymns." No man, however, was better pleased with this production than Dr. Frederick H. Quitman, the President of the New York Synod. He endorses it as a book "better adapted to our present times than those now used in the German Protestant Churches of our country."

We have undertaken the rather unprofitable work of a patient and careful examination of this whole compilation of four hundred and ninety-four hymns, and we are free to say that we have no words to express our utter disgust with the character and spirit of this work. We would not think it worth while to enter into detail, if it were not a most deplorable fact that much of the spirit of this book has been perpetuated unto the present day, not only by the private enterprises of unscrupulous publishing firms, but also in the hymn book of the Pennsylvania Synod of 1849. The preface of the first edition of the *Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch* pretends that the publishers were much better equipped for the production of a satisfactory hymn book than the venerable Fathers that compiled the first Pennsylvania hymn book, "who had not the necessary aids for such a work." It is said that the names of the authors, wherever known, are given at the head of the hymns. Our examination shows that almost one-half of all the hymns are given anonymously. Among them are hymns of P. Gerhardt and other well known authors. Again we find that hymns of Gerhardt are ascribed to other writers, thus betraying the ignorance of the compilers on points which might be expected to be well known to men who engage in such a work. Of the rich treasures of German hymnology in the sixteenth century only about half a dozen numbers are given, and these, with one exception, changed almost beyond recognition. The seventeenth century is represented by about forty hymns. The rest of the book, nearly four hundred and fifty hymns, belongs to the eighteenth century, the period of constantly increasing decay in German hymnology. Gellert leads among the authors with forty hymns; next comes J. A. Cramer (1723-1788), who wrote in the style of Klopstock and Gellert, with sixteen hymns; then follows J. Dietrich, that arch enemy and destroyer of sound churchly hymns, with fifteen hymns; J. J. Rambach, with fourteen; Paul Gerhardt, with eleven; C. C. Sturm, whose soundness in the faith was justly questioned by Senior Goetze in Hamburg, with ten; Benjamin Schmolck, with ten; Johann Heermann, with eight.

But by far the worst feature is the frivolous and scandalous treatment of the finest jewels of our Church Song in this book. "Allein Gott in der Hoeh sei Ehr," the German Gloria in Excelsis, by Nicol. von Hofe, is ascribed to Selnecker, and its text completely changed. Not one of P. Gerhardt's most popular hymns has escaped the vandalism of these destroyers. In place of the classical "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," the congregation is directed to sing "Der du voll Blut und Wunden fuer uns am Kreuze starbst, und unsern letzten Stunden den groessten Trost erwarbst." And in Johann Heermann's Passion hymn, "Herzliebster Jesu," the people must no longer sing "Was hast Du verbochen?" That antiquated question is answered by this advanced and progressive hymn book; it now reads: "Du hast nichts verbochen." Indeed, *difficile est satiram non scribere!* It is as if a set of school boys had tried its very worst to tinker with every line, "just for the fun of it." Of course there is no proper place for Dr. Martin Luther in a hymn book of this kind. Still there is a certain fitness in the choice of the one hymn of his that has been admitted into this collection: "Aus tiefer Noth ruf ich zu Dir." No doubt if the Father of German Church Song could have risen from his grave and looked over this slaughter field of all that was great and pure and noble in our hymns, he would have intoned a "De Profundis" from the very depth of his heart.

Compared with this "Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch," the little hymn book published sixteen years afterwards by order of the General Synod through a Committee consisting of Dr. J. G. Schmucker, F. Heyer, A. Lochmann, A. M., is a vast improvement. This "Evangelische Liedersammlung genommen aus der Liedersammlung und dem Gemeinschaftlichen Gesangbuch zum bequemerem Gebrauch in den Evangelischen Gemeinden, Gettysburg, 1834," contains four hundred and fifteen hymns. Some of the best hymns of the old Pennsylvania hymn book are restored, and P. Gerhardt's hymns, though needlessly abbreviated, are mostly given in a pure text, with little variation from the original.

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1839 TO 1860.

A new era in the Liturgical development of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania begins with the year 1839. The true character and importance of this period in the Liturgical history of the Synod can only be understood and appreciated when we consider at the same time the Liturgical work done by other Lutheran bodies with which the Ministerium of Pennsylvania stood in close relations, though not in organic connection, particularly the New York Ministerium and the General Synod. As far as the New York Ministerium is concerned, the relation of the Liturgical work of the Pennsylvania Synod may, in the main, be characterized as one of reciprocity and of friendly harmonious coöperation. On the part of the General Synod there is an unmistakable tendency, even during the period when the Mother Synod kept aloof from organic connection with this body, to have an understanding with the Pennsylvania Synod on Liturgical matters, to use and recommend its Liturgical work, whilst all the independent efforts of the General Synod in this line ended in signal failure. The reconstruction of a pure Liturgical Service, during that period of its history, was evidently not one of the charismata of the General Synod. The deeply rooted antagonism of some of its most prominent and influential members against the true spirit of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, no doubt, had much to do with this state of affairs.

In 1835 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania endorsed and introduced the New York Synod's Liturgy of 1834, which was really not much above the Pennsylvania Agenda of 1818 as the new Liturgy for its English congregations. At the same time it also requested the General Synod to do likewise for the sake of uniformity, and consequently, in 1837, the General Synod directed its Book Committee to append the New York Synod's English Liturgy to the General Synod's hymn book, provided that they approved of the last edition of that Liturgy.

At the meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod, in 1839, Dr. Demme, Dr. Baker, J. P. Hecht, Dr. J. Miller and J. P. Schindel, were appointed a committee "to prepare a new edition of our Church Liturgy, in an improved and more complete form." The Secretary was directed to give notice of this action to all the other Synods of the Church who used this Liturgy, and to invite them fraternally to coöperate in this work. Hereupon the Synod of New York appointed Dr. P. F. Meyer, Professor H. I. Schmidt and C. F. E. Stohlmann, and the Synod of Ohio, Professor W. Schmidt, J. Wagenhals and J. J. Fast, to coöperate with the committee of the Synod of Pennsylvania. The work of these joint committees having been approved by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in Harrisburg, in 1841, with a few changes, was published in 1842, and the preface is signed by the members of the respective committees. The General Synod in 1843 recommended this Liturgy "as suitable for adoption among our German Churches generally." At the same time a committee was appointed "to prepare a Liturgy in the English language, having reference to the German Liturgy of the Synod of Pennsylvania as the basis of the same, as well as other liturgical forms now in use in the Church." This committee reported, in 1845, that it had agreed to translate the Liturgy of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and to enlarge or diminish the same as it might appear best to the translators. The committee claims the following advantages for this Liturgy: "1. It is more complete than the other English Liturgies. 2. It is, in the strictest sense, the Liturgy of the American Lutheran Church, inasmuch as it sprang from that portion of the Church which is the mother of us all, and which is still held in the highest reverence by the oldest congregations of our denomination. 3. If uniformity be desired, it will be reached by the adoption of these forms. Whether we attend German or English service, we hear the pastor, as he stands before the altar, utter the same truths, address us in the same manner, and pour out the same prayer before the Hearer of prayer. 4. No other Liturgy can have the same historical

associations. 5. As a large portion of the Church, namely, the Synods of Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, as well as the General Synod, have already adopted the German Liturgy, it appears to be evidently necessary, or at least highly desirable, that not merely a work resembling this, but rather, if it is possible, the very same work should be published in the English language." This report is signed by Charles Philip Krauth, B. Kurtz, W. M. Reynolds, Ezra Keller, J. G. Morris, C. A. Smith. The work of this committee appeared in 1847, and its preface contains many excellent suggestions in reference to the use and desirableness of a liturgy, and uniformity in worship. In 1848, the Pennsylvania Synod appointed a committee to examine this English Liturgy. It reported in the following year "that the translation as a whole is a successful one, but that in a few passages the doctrinal statements are not expressed as definitely as in the original, but nevertheless in general accordance with other formulas which we have elsewhere, on the same subjects. The translation is, for the present, recommended for the use of our congregations, in the hope that the General Synod will make provision for a perfectly faithful translation in a second edition. It was also resolved, "That we rejoice that our brethren of the General Synod have translated our Liturgy into the English language, thus rendering it accessible to the English-speaking portion of our household of faith, and that we hope that this may be the means of promoting greater harmony, and of strengthening the fraternal relations between us and them, and the entire Church."

An impartial examination of the Pennsylvania Agenda of 1842, however, shows that, after all, there is very little progress made in it beyond the form of 1818 which has been described above. It is no responsive liturgy at all. The following order is prescribed for the regular Sunday morning service: The pastor opens with a votum or another inspiring ("erhebend") Scripture passage and announces a hymn. After the singing of the hymn he goes to the altar and exhorts the congregation to make confession of sins, or he

reads one of the General Prayers. This is followed by the reading of Scriptures, the Gospel, Epistle, or another suitable passage. Then the principal hymn (Hauptlied) is announced, and the minister ascends the pulpit, prays, preaches, and prays again. After a closing hymn the congregation is dismissed with the benediction. In accordance with these directions the Agenda furnishes the following liturgical material for such a service. A number of opening sentences and passages, three different forms of confession, without any provision for the active participation on the part of the congregation, a number of General Prayers in very poor liturgical taste, one of them interwoven with the words of a well known, sentimental Moravian hymn, another a modern paraphrase of the Creed, together with reminiscences from the German Gloria and other familiar hymns. The material furnished for the festival seasons of the Church Year is particularly objectionable. There is not a trace of the chaste and dignified language of the ancient Church, but plenty of oratorical pathos and bombastic phrases after the manner of Klopstock, Lavater and their cotemporaries.

In the forms for infant baptism we find the Agenda of 1842 even more unsatisfactory than that of 1818. It repeats all the three forms given in the Agenda of 1818, but changes the opening words of the first form. "Inasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin" into this modern statement: "Inasmuch as all men are by nature poor and helpless, estranged from the life of God and under the power of death." A fourth form for infant baptism is even added which directs the minister in the act of baptism itself to address the infant in the following language: "Let thyself then be led to Jesus! Receive the consecration of Christianity and, in memory of this hour, thy Christian name N. N. (So lass dich zu Jesus fuehren! Empfange die Weihe des Christentums und zum Gedaechniss dieser Stunde deinen Christennamen N. N.) We welcome thee into the covenant of love!" For the celebration of the Lord's Supper the same three formulas are given as in the Agenda of 1818, with all their objectionable

features, including the general invitation (in the second form): "In the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Master, I say to all who acknowledge Him as their Saviour and are determined to follow Him faithfully, ye are welcome at this feast of love!" A real improvement on the Agenda of 1818 is the addition of a form of installation of a pastor, in which for the first time, after a long pause, direct reference is again made to the Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, as founded upon the Word of God.

THE HYMN BOOK OF 1849.

During the interval between the publication of this Agenda of 1842 and the revised edition of 1855, which marks a decided progress in the Liturgical development of the Ministerium, a new hymn book was published by the Synod of Pennsylvania in 1849. At the meeting held in Philadelphia, in 1847, a committee, consisting of Revs. J. Miller, D. Ulrich, F. W. Geissenhainer, C. F. E. Stohlmann and C. R. Demme, recommended the publication of a new hymn book. Among the reasons urged in favor of such action the following points are mentioned: "The old hymn book of the Ministerium is used only by a few congregations, while other books that are in actual use have not the sanction of the Church. If the Synod should not make provision for a new book, it is to be feared that a number of congregations will introduce hymn books of their own choice. In the preparation of this new book it is recommended that as many hymns as possible be retained from the old Pennsylvania hymn book, and these with as few alterations as possible. The friendly coöperation of other Synods should also be solicited for this work, but if it could not be obtained, the Ministerium should not, on this account, give up the work. In accordance with these recommendations the publication of a new book was resolved, and a committee, consisting of Dr. Demme, Dr. J. Miller, Dr. Becker, G. A. Reichert and D. Ulrich, was entrusted with the work. The Synods of New York and of West Pennsylvania consented to participate in the preparation and introduction of

the new book, the former through Dr. Stohlmann, the latter through Dr. S. S. Schmucker, J. Albert and A. G. Deininger. This hymn book, popularly known as the "Wollenweber Book," appeared in 1849. It will hardly be denied by the Church Historian that the time chosen for the preparation of this book was not exactly favorable for such an important work. It was a period of transition. A more churchly and confessional spirit just began to make itself felt. But the revival of a true Lutheran consciousness was as yet in its first weak beginnings. Much of the old leaven still remained. Even the Agenda of 1855, six years after the appearance of the hymn book, retained, in its second form of the Communion Service, that obnoxious form of distribution in the Lord's Supper: "Jesus says, take," etc. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that in the preparation of the hymn book the unsatisfactory character of this transition period should be manifested; on the one side an effort to improve on former hymn books in the spirit of a sound historical Lutheranism, on the other hand a constant yielding to the modern spirit which had been ruling in the liturgical and hymnological literature of the Church for the past fifty years. The result could not be satisfactory. In spite of the high appreciation which the compilers of this new book show for the old Pennsylvania hymn book of 1786, they have not even come up to its mark, as Dr. Mann truly says in his *Life of Muhlenberg* (p. 500, the old book is "much superior to the one edited under Synodical authority in 1849").

The hymn book of 1849 contains 710 hymns. Out of this number only thirty-nine belong to the first period of German Church Song, down to the end of the sixteenth century. Three hundred and fifty belong to the second period, from the beginning of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, and the remaining three hundred and twenty—that is, nearly one-half of all the hymns—belong to the period of decay which abolished or reconstructed the ancient hymns and Liturgies of the Lutheran Church, and substituted in their place shallow, modern productions of bombastic, un-

churchly and unscriptural phraseology. The festival seasons of the Church Year are very poorly supplied in this book. The finest hymns of our Church are missed under these rubrics. The text of the hymns is much nearer to the original than that of the "Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch," especially those of P. Gerhardt are in the main correctly edited. But, after all, this book also is under the sway of that "Hymn Book Revolution," which Koch describes in his history of Church Song "when the most reverend Consistorial Counselors, Court Preachers and General Superintendents played the role of Revolutionaries and committed a three-fold robbery against the Christian people of Germany, stealing what was their sacred property as a Nation, as a Church, and as lovers of true poetry." What we said before of certain alterations made by Dr. Helmuth in the hymn book of 1786, involving a yielding of the strong Christological position of our Lutheran Church, is true also of changes made in the hymn book of 1849.

THE REVISED AGENDA OF 1855.

The Agenda of 1842, which we had found to be, in the main, of the same character as that of 1818, in a short time proved to be unsatisfactory to the Ministerium. The constant growth of a churchly and Lutheran consciousness demanded something different from what had been offered in 1818 and 1842. Consequently in 1850 it was resolved that a new edition of the Liturgy for the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio be published; that we consult with those Synods that participated in the publication of the last edition; that a committee be appointed to inform them of our intention, and request them to lend us their assistance. The committee consisted of Drs. Demme, Baker, and Revs. Reichert, C. Miller and C. W. Schaeffer. In the following year this committee was instructed to coöperate in this matter also with a committee of the General Synod. The New York Ministerium had again appointed Dr. Stohlmann and Dr. H. J. Schmidt to represent it in this work. In 1853, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, after hearing the re-

port of its committee, resolved "that the publication of the Liturgy be deferred until the District Synod of Ohio shall have held their joint meeting, and that our delegate to that body be instructed to inform them of the same." A special committee was also appointed to prepare a number of prayers for the use of families and individuals, to be appended to our Liturgy. Drs. Mann, C. W. Schaeffer and Rev. Peixoto constituted this committee. The delegates to the General Synod which the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had resolved to join again at this very convention were instructed to report to the General Synod the action of the Pennsylvania Synod in regard to the Liturgy, and to request that body to grant permission to their Liturgy Committee to hold a joint meeting with similar committees from this and other Synods, and authorize them to assume the translation into the English language of the same, as soon as all the necessary preliminary arrangements shall have been concluded. In response to this action of the Pennsylvania Synod the General Synod instructed its Liturgical Committee that they "examine the Liturgy which is being prepared by the Pennsylvania and other Synods, with the view of reporting to the next General Synod such alterations in our present Liturgy as they may deem advisable."

In 1854 the final report of the Liturgical Committee on the new edition of the Agenda was laid before the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Dr. Demme, who had taken the principal part in this work, asked to be discharged from the committee. But the Ministerium declined to do this, and in turn requested him to continue on this committee, excusing him, however, from any active part in the work of publication itself. "We have," says an eye-witness* of these discussions, "a vivid recollection of these Synodical sessions, and of the manner in which Dr. Demme read specimens of the new Liturgy, explained proposed alterations, and obtained the opinion of Synod. He had devoted much time and study to the Liturgy,

*Dr. G. F. Krotel, in a series of seven most valuable articles on "The General Synod and the Liturgy," in the *Lutheran and Missionary*, February and March, 1864.

but was unwilling to put anything into it without the intelligent assent of the brethren. We remember how he presented the whole subject of responses, how the matter was discussed, and how the Synod decided that this feature of the earliest Liturgies of our Church in this country and of the great modern Liturgies of our Church in Europe should go into the new Liturgy."

The committee, fearing that some of the most important features of this new Agenda might be considered by some as innovations, took pains to explain and defend its position in the preface. It had been found necessary to emphasize the Lutheran Confession more decidedly than hitherto, "because certain things had been, and were still being, declared to be Lutheran which, according to the letter and the spirit of her Confession, were utterly foreign to the Lutheran Church. No one who is at all familiar with the usage of the ancient Church and also the earlier traditions of the Lutheran Church will call it an innovation, that certain ancient parts of the service have been restored, and that it has been made responsive. Such active participation of the congregation in the public services was the established order in Lutheran congregations of this country during the last and even in this present century. If we succeed in restoring this right to the congregations so that they become accustomed to exercise it regularly, we will have contributed essentially towards a true revival of well ordered services in the house of God, and in doing so we have acted in the spirit of the Fathers of our Church who never approved of keeping the congregation in silence."

And certainly the responsive character of the service in this new Agenda is its most commendable feature. We find it introduced in the opening Versicles, the Kyrie, the Amen after the Absolution, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Amen after the Collect, the Responses after the reading of the Gospel and Epistle, and in the Amen after the Benediction. The ancient responses in the Communion Service are restored in the Preface, the Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Nunc Dimittis, Versicle and closing Collect, and Benedicamus. Our enumeration of all

these parts of the service, as found in the new Agenda, shows another feature of excellence in this Liturgy; namely, the restoration of almost all the main parts of the ancient service, mostly in their correct order. In the Forms for Ordination and Installation and for the Laying of Cornerstones there is a clear and distinct reference to the Lutheran Confession. The text of the Augsburg Confession itself is incorporated in the Agenda between the first and second part of the book.

On the other hand, there are also some points which are still unsatisfactory and even highly objectionable in this Agenda of 1855. There is confusion right in the opening section of the Morning Service, resulting from the combination of the Confiteor and the Kyrie, and the use of the Salutation and the Sursum Corda at this point. The Introit (Eingangsspruch) is placed after the Gloria in Excelsis, and to be read by the minister before the Collect. These so called Introids and the Collects following them have, as a rule, very little ancient authority, but are chiefly taken from Bunsen's 'Allgemeines Gesang und Gebetbuch, 1846.' The Lord's Prayer follows the Collect. The reading of the Epistle is left optional, and it is placed after the Gospel. The Creed is not made obligatory, and its reading is assigned to the minister. The sermon is to be followed by an extempore Prayer, or a General Bidding Prayer, to be offered in the pulpit or at the altar. A great deal of the unsound and unliturgical leaven is retained in the parallel forms which stand in the book with equal authority side by side with those purer forms to which attention has been directed. Thus there are three different forms of Confession carried over from the Agendas of 1818 and 1842, all without responses on the part of the congregation. All the oratory and bombast of the General and Festival Prayers of the Agenda of 1842 is retained in this new edition. The same is the case with the second formula of the Communion Service with its objectionable and unionistic form of distribution. For Baptism, also, there is a second form retained from the Liturgy of 1842, and unfortunately it is that

very sentimental and oratorical one which we have exposed in describing the Agenda of 1842.

THE ENGLISH LITURGY OF 1860.

. When the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was ready to publish the revised Agenda of 1855, a committee was appointed with the instruction "to adopt measures to have the Liturgy translated into English." This committee consisted of Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, C. W. Schaeffer, C. F. Welden, G. F. Krotel and B. M. Schmucker, men of sound churchly conservatism, high literary culture and excellent liturgical taste. Some of them had for years made a specialty of the study of the standard Agenda of our Lutheran Church, as well as of the Liturgies of the Prereformation period. And to the present day the Church is indebted to these brethren for having given a new impulse to the liturgical development of the Mother Synod, for laying down the correct principles for the construction of a churchly service, and for throwing out all that was in conflict with those principles. There was one redeeming feature in most of those objectionable parts with which the German Agenda of 1855 was still burdened; their very language forbade the attempt of reproducing them in pure, readable, churchly English. At the very outset of their work, therefore, the committee very wisely asked for permission to "decide which portion of the service was to be first translated," and proposed that for the present they should only furnish in the English language the several orders of divine service for Sundays and Festivals, with the Collects and General Prayers, one prayer for each festival, the meditations on the Passion of our Lord, and one form for each ministerial act. In 1858 B. M. Schmucker, in behalf of the committee, read the form of the Morning Service. The Synod expressed its satisfaction therewith, and commended the industry and circumspection of the committee. In the following year various changes and improvements recommended by the committee were approved, and the publication of the English Morning Service in a cheap form for general distribution was ordered. In 1860 additional

changes proposed by the committee were approved, and authority was given to have one thousand copies printed on moveable letters. A copy was to be presented to the General Synod with the request that it should recommend it to its congregations. The book appeared in this provisional form under the title "A Liturgy for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, by authority of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston, 1860."

From the preface we give the following extracts, which indicate the distinctive character of the book as over against the German Agenda of 1855, on which it was nominally based. "Much of the matter contained in the German Liturgy the translators have been instructed to omit as superfluous. In that portion of the work of which a translation is here presented, the translators have been instructed to make a number of alterations, chiefly for the purpose of securing a *stricter conformity to the general usage of the ancient and purest Liturgies of the Lutheran Church*, but in a few instances for the purpose of conforming to the practice of our English Churches in this country." A selection of Introits is given, taken chiefly from the Bavaria Agenda. The Nicene Creed is added "for occasional use." The recommendation is made that the General Prayer should be placed, where by the common consent of almost all Lutheran Liturgies it belongs, after the sermon. "The work here presented for the use of our English Churches within the Synod of Pennsylvania, and any others which may see fit to adopt it, will be found to agree more nearly with the ancient usage of the Lutheran Church than any which has yet been published in the English language by any portion of our Church in this country. Notwithstanding various minor differences between the older Liturgies of the Lutheran Church in the several countries of Europe, there is a substantial agreement in the prominent outlines of the Divine Service. And the order of Divine Service contained in this work agrees with them in all things essential, except in position of the General Prayer." After this follows a translation and adaptation of that beautiful sketch of the full service of the Lutheran Church

which is found in the preface of Loche's Agenda. Here, indeed, breathes a spirit very different from what our Churches had been accustomed to in their formulas during the preceding fifty years. They had "einen andern Geist."

In 1862 the work of Liturgical reconstruction was extended to the field of hymnology also. A committee, including the members of the Liturgy Committee, was appointed to examine the English hymn books now in use in our Church and to report on the desirability of either revising one of the existing books or of preparing a new one. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, G. F. Krotel, B. M. Schmucker, A. T. Geissenhainer, F. W. Conrad, C. F. Welden and J. Kohler constituted this committee. It reported at the next meeting that in their judgment none of the existing English hymn books was satisfactory to our congregations, and that therefore a book should be prepared containing those parts of the Liturgy which are needed for the regular Sunday services, Luther's Catechism, the Augsburg Confession, and a sufficient number of hymns selected with due regard to the doctrine and usage of our Church. This was adopted and the committee charged with the preparation of such a book. By this action the future Church Book of the General Council was in reality outlined and created.

In 1864 the committee reported that they had succeeded in securing the coöperation of the distinguished hymnologist, the Rev. F. M. Bird, at that time a member of the New York Ministerium. With his advice a list of hymns had been prepared. In the following year the work was reported as nearly finished. Drs. Charles Porterfield Krauth and Jos. A. Seiss were added to the committee. The year 1866 brought the crisis at Fort Wayne and the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Synod from the General Synod, which was followed by the convention at Reading, which laid the foundation of the General Council. The Pennsylvania Synod therefore postponed further action on the English hymn book and Liturgy until after the convention in Reading. The committee, however, completed its work of revision and submitted the result of its

labors to that convention, which appointed a committee of one from each Synod there represented, "to aid the existing committee of the Pennsylvania Synod in the perfecting of their contemplated hymn book." At the first meeting of the General Council in 1867, the whole work of the English Liturgy and Hymn Book Committee of the Pennsylvania Synod was formally transferred to and accepted by the General Council in the following action: "That the General Council heartily concur in the propriety and necessity of the publication of a work of the kind proposed, and hereby accept and authorize the publication of the English Church Book prepared by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania." The official title of the book was finally determined and the committee of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was authorized and instructed to make arrangements for the publication of the Church Book, the copyright to be in trust for the General Council.

Thus through the wise, steadfast and loyal work of the English committee the Liturgical development of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was gradually emancipated from those unsound and un-Lutheran elements which had pervaded the Agenda of 1818, 1842 and 1855, and the pure service of the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth century had at last been restored on the basis of the consensus of the best Agenda of that period. It was right and proper that the German part of the Church should also have the benefit of this happy consummation. The initiative in this direction naturally came from the General Council. At its first convention a German Church Book Committee was appointed in which all the district Synods were to be represented. The instructions given to this committee determined that in the German Church Book those hymns should be first collected which we find contained in the best Lutheran hymn books; that the hymns to be received should be adopted in their original form; that only such changes should be made as are already embodied in good Lutheran books; that hymns in which considerable changes are necessary, should not be embodied in the hymn book; that the rubrics found in the Pennsylvania Synod's hymn book

should be followed as much as possible ; and that the Liturgical service be made to conform to that of the English Church Book. At the same time, however, the delegation of the Pennsylvania Synod was excused from appointing a representative upon the German Church Book Committee. This was done because some brethren seemed to fear that an official participation of the Ministerium in this work might lead to legal difficulties that could be raised on the part of the publishers of the Pennsylvania hymn book of 1849. A few years afterwards, however, the Pennsylvania Synod was well represented in the German Church Book Committee of the General Council, so that it may truly be said that the Mother Synod had her good and full share in the work on the German book also. And when the work was completed in 1877, the Ministerium took the following action : "The Synod is gratified to hear that the new German Church Book is completed and will, in a few weeks, be in the hands of our congregations ready for use ; and it urgently recommends its introduction and use in all our congregations in which the service is conducted in the German language. Inasmuch as the plates of the old ('Wollenweber') book, especially those of the small edition, have become unfit for use and the printing of the book must therefore be discontinued, our congregations are advised to avoid the difficulties arising from this fact by a prompt introduction of the new Church Book." Unfortunately the Synod six years afterwards receded from the position taken in these resolutions when it yielded to the demand of some of its German pastors and congregations and agreed to have the plates of the old Wollenweber book renewed. We have always looked upon this action as a reactionary measure, and in conflict with the whole Liturgical development of the Mother Synod. And we trust that the time is not distant when the German Church Book will hold the same place of universal appreciation and acceptance which was so readily given to the English book from its very first appearance.

It is an interesting history which we have surveyed in this brief and fragmentary sketch. After a fine beginning made

by the Fathers in 1748, we have seen the venerable Ministerium drifting away further and further from the good and solid foundation which had then been laid also for its Liturgical life. But after years of estrangement, there is at last a return to the precious inheritance of the Reformation era, as in doctrine so also in the service of the Church, and the position reached in the Church Book is no longer that of our Ministerium alone, it is accepted as the only true one by other Lutheran bodies around us. The Liturgical development of the Pennsylvania Synod culminates in the Church Book of the General Council, and the Church Book of the General Council expands into the Common Service. Thus after a century and a half we see in some measure the hope and prophecy of our Patriarch fulfilled, "that all the Evangelical Lutheran congregations should be united with one another and all use the same order of service."

A. SPAETH.

*Philadelphia, Mt. Airy Theological Seminary,
November, 1897.*

THE CONFESSIONAL HISTORY OF THE MINISTERIUM OF PENNSYLVANIA.

To one who turns from the study of the writings of Luther to the literature of the first period of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the contrast in doctrine and spirit is indeed most marked. In Luther, the objective element overshadows everything. His great theme is Christ and the certainty and clearness of Christ's promises. As he looks from Christ upon himself, he finds there nothing but corruption and ruin and condemnation; then as his eyes are fixed anew upon his Redeemer, his faith is all the stronger, because of his knowledge how helpless he is by his own powers. Among the Fathers of the Lutheran Church in this country, the attention is occupied far more with processes of self-introspection. As patients who know themselves sick, they are constantly taking and recording the temperature, and searching for the symptoms both of the malady and of returning health. They have all the characteristics of the more sober and healthful form of Pietism. A critical History of Pietism drawn from the sources by a competent American Lutheran scholar, written from a strictly confessional standpoint, and impartially examining the entire controversy which it occasioned, would be a most useful aid to the understanding of the doctrinal position of the missionaries who were sent hither from Halle. The theology of Muhlenberg and his associates differed from that of the Reformation period, not by the rejection of any of the doctrines that the latter accepted, or by attempting any additions, but almost entirely in the variation of emphasis in the doctrines believed and taught. The center of the system was somewhat changed. "Christ for us" was forgotten neither in the preaching nor the life, but it required a con-

tinual struggle, lest the doctrine of "Christ in us" might supplant it. The freshness of spiritual life drawn by immediate contact with the arguments of the Holy Scriptures deteriorates as the same Scriptures are constantly used, chiefly as collections of mottoes and isolated promises, to be simply sources of impulse for pious meditations and reflections.

This criticism we make with a reverent hand. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was founded by men who were earnest, decided and unyielding in their confession of the faith of the Lutheran Church. On all occasions they made this most prominent. They wished to be regarded as Lutherans not with qualifications and conditions, but accepted heartily all that the Lutheran Church had embodied in its Confessions. They came from a school whose enemies endeavored to the utmost, but without success, to question their orthodoxy, and to erase their names from the number who had the right to be acknowledged as subscribers of the full body of the Lutheran Symbols. John Arnd and Philip Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke never hesitated to affirm their entire and cordial acceptance of the Formula of Concord, as well as of the Augsburg Confession and Small Catechism. The men sent from the same school to lay the foundation of Protestant missions in the East Indies, had studied well the Confessions and tested them by the Holy Scriptures, when they gave their solemn pledge that the faith they would carry to the heathen would be none other than that therein set forth. Muhlenberg and his associates, trained in the same school, were unwilling to abate a hair's breadth in such requirements. From the settlement of the Salzburgers in Georgia, to that of the Lutherans in Nova Scotia, all the German churches of the XVIIIth century, North and South, were planted upon the same basis.

In a few months the Ministerium will publish, as a memorial of the approaching Jubilee, a volume of documents pertaining to its conventions from 1748 to 1811. This will place in the hands of students such an overwhelming amount of testimony on this subject, that it seems scarcely worth while to enter here into its details. A few illustrations, not unfav-

miliar to those who have read the Halle Reports, may be given. When e. g., at the first meeting, the Mother Church, St. Michael's, in Philadelphia, was consecrated, the address by Muhlenberg reminded the audience of the fact that "the foundation stones of the church had been laid, with the intention that in it the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine should be taught according to the Augsburg Confession and all the other Symbolical Books." When the formal ceremony of consecration occurred, "the whole church, and its parts, the pulpit, baptismal font, and altar, were again consecrated to the use of the only saving Word, and the Holy Sacraments, according to our Symbolical books. The Church Council of Philadelphia had to promise, publicly and orally, that they would strive, with God's assistance, to keep the church according to the foregoing consecration, unto their children and children's children, for the aforename purpose, as long as God would protect it from fire, water and other accidents." When, at the same meeting, the Rev. J. N. Kurtz was ordained, he was pledged to teach nothing, publicly or privately, but what is in accord with the Word of God, and the Confessional Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and, to this end, to study them diligently. In his written examination, among the answers in the document commended by the authorities at Halle, as better than nine students out of every ten would have given at the time in Germany, is his reply to the question whether the Evangelical Lutheran be the only saving doctrine. Mr. Kurtz's answer was that, while he was very far from affirming that none but professed Lutherans would be saved, nevertheless that, since wherever God's Word is purely preached, there is the only saving doctrine, and as our Symbolical Books are drawn from God's Word, with the Lutheran Church is the alone saving doctrine.

Only a few weeks ago, by the courtesy of the Rev. L. Kuhlman, of Frederick, Md., we were permitted to read in the earliest book of the venerable congregation at Monocacy, the mother of the Frederick congregation, the confessional pledge of that congregation, written in English, by Muhlenberg him-

self. His Journals tell us that the entry is his. As this clear and precise statement of the basis of the Maryland congregations is, so far as we know, nowhere in print, we insert it as illustrating the foundation upon which all our churches were laid.

“WHEREAS, We, the subscribers, enjoy the inestimable liberty of conscience under the powerful protection of our Most Gracious Sovereign, King George the Second, and His Representatives our gracious Superior of this province, and have used this blessed liberty since our first here at Manakasy till this day, in worshipping God Almighty, according to the Protestant Lutheran persuasion, grounded in the Old and New Testament and in the *invariata Augustana Confessione ceterisq. libris Symbolicis*; we will therefore endeavor to pray for our Most Gracious Sovereign and all that are in authority, that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all Godliness and Honesty; and,

“WHEREAS, We are several times disturbed by pretended ministers that style themselves Lutherans, but cannot produce any lawful Certificate or Credentials of their Vocation or Ordination of a lawful Consistory or Ministry, and cause strifes, Quarrels and Disputations among the Congregations,

We, the subscribers, the Church Wardens and Members of the Protestant Lutheran Congregation, erect and constitute and agree and bind ourselves to the following articles, *imprimis* :

1. The church we have erected and built at Manakasy and used hitherto shall stand and remain and be for the worship of our Protestant Lutheran Religion according to our Confession and Oeconomie, as long as the blessed acts of Tolerance and of our liberty stand forever, and the Reformed Congregation shall have liberty for their lawful minister.

2. No minister shall be admitted and permitted to preach or administer the holy Ordinances in our Church without a lawful Call and Certificate of His lawful Lutheran Ordination and Examination by a Lutheran Consistory or Ministry, and without consent of the Church Wardens.

3. Every year shall be chosen four or more blameless Members of our Congregation for Church Wardens, and they shall be chosen *per plurima vota*.

4. The Church Wardens shall hold and preserve the key of the church, the Vessels and Ornaments that belong to the Church and Congregation, and deliver every piece in time of Worship, or when necessity requireth it.

5. Two of the Church Wardens shall keep an exact account of the alms and be ready to lay, at the end of the year, the Reckoning before the rest of the Church Wardens and the Congregation.

6. Whenever a member or Church Warden of our Congregation should turn to another persuasion, or lead a notorious, sinful life against the Ten Commandments, or against the Constitutions and laws of our Most Gracious Superiors, he or they shall not be accounted for a member of our Congregation, but be excluded.

To these before mentioned Articles, which only tend to promote peace and

quietness, we set our hands, this 24th day June, 1747, in the 21st year of the Reign of our Most Gracious Sovereign, King George the Second, whom the Lord preserve."

In 1760, Bryzelius was admitted upon his promise "to conform in all my sermons, public and private instruction, and in the administration of the Holy Sacraments, to our Symbolical Books." The succeeding year, when Muhlenberg defended himself against sundry charges preferred by Rev. Lucas Rauss, he challenged him, in the most forcible language, to adduce a single instance in which his teaching had not been in harmony with all the Symbolical Books. In 1769, Zion Church, Philadelphia, was consecrated, with the participation of the entire Synod "for the use of the German Evangelical Lutheran congregation, which confesses the one evangelical doctrine, upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and the two sacraments instituted by Christ, according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other Symbolical Books." Such are a few out of many examples that might be cited.

Hence when we open the first Minute Book of the Ministerium, and read the first Constitution, that was entered there in 1781, and signed by the pastors then belonging to that body, we find the same unequivocal confessional test.

"Every minister professes that he holds to the Word of God and our Symbolical Books in doctrine and life." When complaints are brought against ministers, the investigation must refer to: "Positive errors opposed to the plain teachings of the Holy Scriptures and our Symbolical Books."

This invariable profession is accompanied by the most ample material, from which may be determined whether the profession be true or false. Dr. Spaeth, in a preceding article, has already answered the question with respect to the Liturgy of 1748. A similar examination might be made with identical results with respect to the congregational constitutions prepared by Muhlenberg, of which that of Zion and St. Michael's of 1762 is the best type. The minute details of the discharge of pastoral duties, and the instructions prepared

for others laboring under him, are in the same spirit. No one will maintain that the judgment of our Fathers was infallible or that they always applied their Lutheran principles so as to be beyond criticism, or as to afford in all respects a model for succeeding generations. But as to their general consistency with their emphatic confession, there can be no question. "Hallensian," it is true, was a favorite nickname, whereby not only renegades whose false pretences they exposed, but even occasionally more respectable men, whose pathway they crossed, endeavored to neutralize their influence. The forthcoming volume will contain the official records and original documents, according to which accuser and accused may be judged.

Another era entered with the death of Muhlenberg. The Synodical Constitution of 1792 omitted all confessional tests. The significance of this omission must not be exaggerated. As the Constitution of the New York Ministerium corresponded almost word for word with this of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, Dr. Nicum has entered into a very satisfactory discussion of its defects in his invaluable "History of the New York Ministerium." He shows that in New York the confessional obligation was exacted of all who were ordained, even when the requirement was suppressed in the Constitution. So it may have been for a time in Pennsylvania. The change is explicable probably from the complete revolution effected in the organization by the Constitution of 1792. Lay delegates are now for the first time admitted as regular members of Synod, with the right to a voice and vote. Before this they appeared only for the purpose of conferring with the pastors concerning the affairs of particular congregations, and were called before the Synod and questioned, and then dismissed, while the pastors acted upon the subjects proposed. It may have been that in reorganizing the Synod to adapt it to this change, it was thought best to obliterate this test, as its continuance would make a difference between the pastors and the lay delegates. But, however this may be, it certainly indicates a degree of indifference to the confessional principle

that we can not believe that the elder Muhlenberg would have permitted. It is a symptom of a general deterioration, not only doctrinally and spiritually, but in critical scholarship, that characterized the close of the last century. Although Muhlenberg had purchased ground for a seminary as early as 1749, his scheme could not be carried out. A few of his successors, as his sons and Drs. Kunze and Helmuth, had enjoyed the advantages of a German university course, but the great body of the pastors were trained in the studies of other pastors, burdened with numerous engagements, and subject to constant interruptions. The Church is not on a stable foundation, when the most of its pastors have confined their preparation for the ministry only to the study of those branches most needed in pastoral work. The entire experience of the Church must to some extent be known and be kept in view. The second generation of pastors had copied outlines of doctrine furnished by their predecessors, had read a number of volumes in the libraries of their preceptors, and were probably able to read their Greek Testaments and to translate from the Hebrew with a proficiency that would do them credit if they were to submit to an examination to-day, but they were not able to appreciate the historical circumstances that rendered our Confessions necessary, or, even when they revered these documents, to enter heartily into their life, or defend them against attacks. Explanations and defences there certainly are that show that the meaning of the Confessions is misunderstood. Lutherans allied themselves so closely with the Reformed in the struggle for the perpetuation of the German language, as well as in the perfectly justifiable efforts to resist the political movements against German emigrants and their descendants, that, in the heat of the contest, confessional lines became constantly more obscure. Rationalism entered, partly from Germany, and partly through the New York Ministerium, which was affected by the Socinianism of New England that divided the Congregational churches of that period. There was no theological center. The Synod was a loose aggregation of heterogeneous elements, with a degree of liberality and toleration that seemed

almost boundless. Precipitate action in the face of a great emergency has never been the sin of the Ministerium. It may be well questioned whether her patience has always been a virtue.

But the Synod, as such, was never committed to any repudiation of the Lutheran faith. The full significance of important changes was not apprehended. The period was simply one of relative doctrinal indifference, and little interest in the associated work for which the Synod had been organized. All along there were faithful pastors content to continue the traditional teaching and to transmit the traditional spirit, as they came from the earlier period. Nor have we the right to assume that in most instances this was a mere tradition. There were truly spiritually minded men in the second as well as in the first period, by whose ministry a sound congregational life was maintained even when the synodical life left much to be regretted and desired.

A most important document bearing upon this history has been found recently by Rev. Dr. Hull, at Hartwick Seminary. It is a letter of Dr. Kunze, written in 1805, full of lamentation over the deterioration in doctrine both in Germany and America. "We are unanimous," he writes in an open letter to his brethren of the New York Ministerium, "in adhering to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, in that pure and simple sense in which it was taught and explained in the Primitive Church, and revived three hundred years ago by the Reformers. . . . We all abhor the neological attempts of robbing Christ of His divine majesty, His atonement of its all-sufficient power, the Word of God of its energy, His ordinances of their efficacy, the Spirit of God of His exclusive agency in the reformation of man, and the Gospel of its pre-eminent feature, Free Grace. . . . Dreadful as it may sound, it is nevertheless the result of my continuing to read German publications and of my continued German correspondence that I assert, should we send for ten candidates to place them in our vacant congregations, it is highly probable that we would have one resembling our brother just mentioned,

and nine despisers, yea, blasphemers of Christ. . . . Let me add to your comfort and joy—the *numerous ministry of Pennsylvania is, and remains, of our mode of thinking.* In Germany some faithful servants of God have associated themselves for instructing young candidates for the pulpit, in order to counteract the academical poison they may have imbibed.”

In the catechetical class and in the pulpit, the distinctive doctrines of our Church were always taught by some members of the Ministerium. In the earlier years of my ministry, in portions of the territory that had long ceased to be within our bounds, I repeatedly heard from some of the older members the explanation of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper given when they were catechumens, as well as other elements pertaining to the practice, that showed how deep and permanent the impression that was made by the first period of the Synod. Not only were the devotional books of our Church faithfully read by the more intelligent of our people, but the German Bibles, with their extensive Lutheran glosses and an apparatus for explanation, scarcely excelled by the “Teacher's Bibles” of to-day, and containing sometimes the Augsburg Confession, furnished in many a quiet country home the material for study on the frequent Sundays, when, in large parishes, the household was without the privilege of public worship. Even to the present day the hymn-books of the first period, with their valuable supplementary material, may be found in the homes of some of our members, with evidences of the faithful use they have had from probably several generations of owners. Even though the pastors might become indifferent, and the public teachers of the next generation be openly antagonistic to the Lutheran faith, a new generation of pastors was constantly springing up from the homes of our more devout members, whose spiritual life had been nurtured from childhood at these sources.

The Memorial Volume will not reach the era of return to the confessional position of the Fathers. This return was accomplished by slow but steady approaches, and required the efforts of earnest men and the leadings of the Divine Provi-

dence for a half century. The dawn of this day was the Tercentenary Jubilee of the Reformation in 1817, with the renewed interest it gave both in Germany and America to the study of the living issues of the period in which our Church originated. The movement advanced by a constant struggle in which the deteriorating process often seemed not only to be holding its own, but even to be able to attain greater triumphs than ever. The formation of the General Synod at the call of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was one of the first steps forward. Forced to withdraw, to the great regret of the majority of the pastors, because of widespread prejudices among the people against a general organization, the leaders who remained and shaped its first policy, were largely men born, baptized and ordained in the Mother Synod. The reassertion of the confessional principle was the inevitable result of the existence of a body that aimed at aggressive work. With the establishment of a theological seminary a definite doctrinal basis could not be long deferred ; and then came the struggle as to whether this basis should be entirely new, or a restoration of the historical basis of the Fathers, or an amendment of that basis. The confessional history of the Ministerium cannot be separated from that of her child, the General Synod, during the years in which she was independent of it so far as organic union was concerned, but in close relations in all other respects. For details, we refer to the first volume of Dr. Spaeth's Memoir of Dr. Krauth, which will appear within a few weeks. Whether men desired to consider the question or not, they could not evade giving an answer as to why they professed to be Lutherans, and what it meant to be called a Lutheran. Under the pressure of such inquiries, search was made for the testimony of the Fathers, and the seeds which had been lying dormant for years began to grow. The fact that the Ministerium had been slow to respond to the process of anglicising, often lamented as a loss, had at this time been an advantage, as she was thus preserved in the enjoyment of many cherished Lutheran practices, that, with the return to confessional consciousness, were made to yield rich fruit.

The Tennessee Synod, from its formation in 1820, was the most pronounced advocate of a strict adherence to the full body of the Lutheran Confessions, although unfortunately it weakened its influence by its antagonism to theological seminaries. The publication of Muller's Symbolical Books during the '40s, and the importation about 1849 of a large number of copies, the English translation of these Books by the Henkels in 1851, the founding of the *Evangelical Review* at Gettysburg, the publication of the *Zeitschrift* by Pastor Brobst at Allentown, the purchase and generous distribution of a large number of copies of the *Hallesche Nachrichten* by Dr. H. H. Muhlenberg, of Reading, all contributed powerfully toward the attainment of the result reached when the General Council was founded in 1867. The influence of the contemporaneous discussions in Germany must not be overlooked; but they were not decisive.

In the *Evangelical Review*, Vol. V, 189-213, there is an interesting paper prepared for the meeting of the Ministerium at Easton in 1853, and read as the report of a committee by Dr. Charles F. Schaeffer. It is unfortunate that its length prevented its insertion in the minutes. It is a careful study as to what the Ministerium means in its Liturgy and other publications by the expression, "The Confession of the Lutheran Church." An examination is made of the confessional history of the Ministerium, as a long preamble to resolutions, whereby its learned author hoped at that time to restore the Synod to the basis upon which it had been founded. The result was, for the time, a compromise, which, although unsatisfactory to Dr. Schaeffer, certainly marked a great advance, and prepared the way for the unequivocal attitude of the Synod in later years. The main resolution read: "*Resolved*, That we also, in common with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our Fathers, acknowledge the collective body of the Symbolical Books, as the historical and confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and that we also, like the Lutheran Church of former times, accord to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Cate-

chism, an especial importance among our Symbolical Books generally."

In the formation of the General Council, the Ministerium has made a second attempt to establish a general organization of Lutheran Synods in America. In this effort, she has laid as the prerequisite of such union the precise doctrinal basis on which the Ministerium itself was founded in 1748, nothing more and nothing less. On this, her one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, she unfurls the same banner that was brought by our leaders from our mother country when they came hither to do their part in subduing this land to Christ.

HENRY E. JACOBS.

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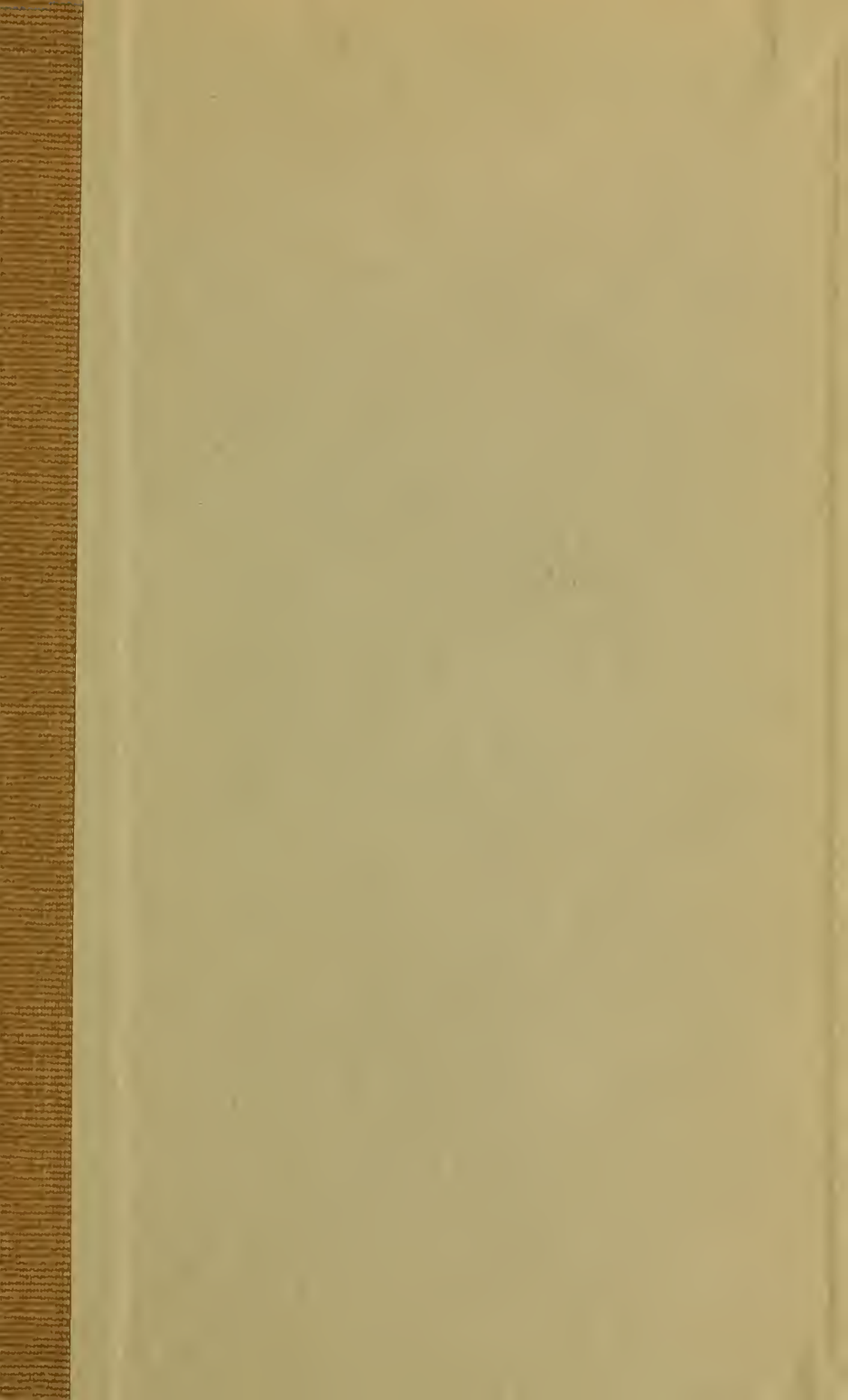
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